THE

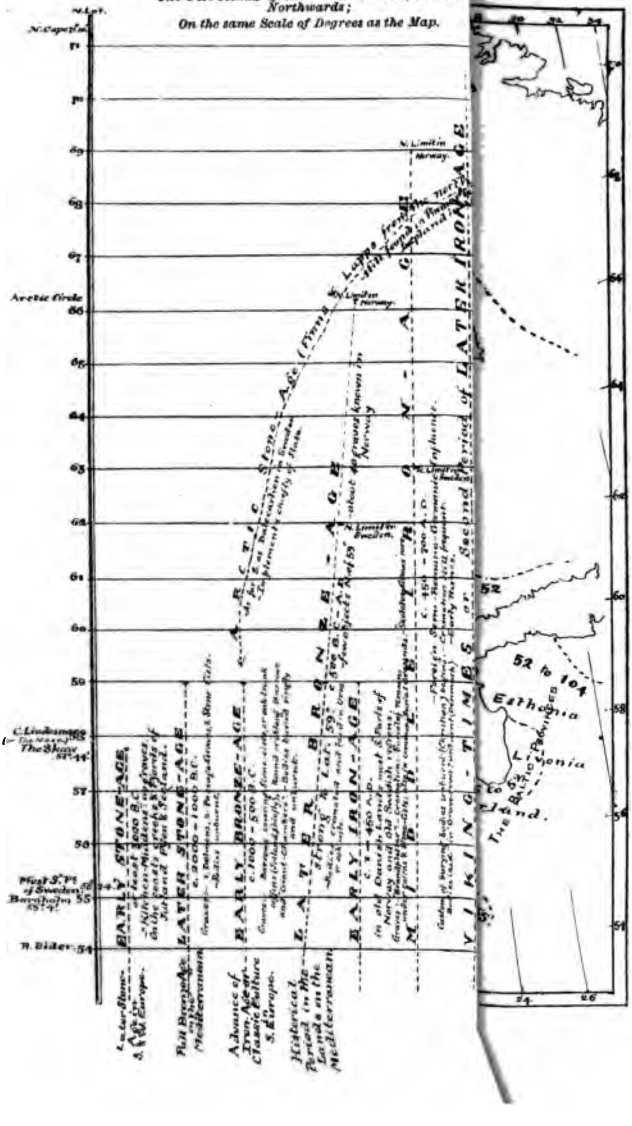
PRE-HISTORY OF THE NORTH.

CHART

TO ILLUSTRATE

The PROGRESS of the VARIOUS CULTURES Northwards;

On the same Scale of Degrees as the Map.



THE

PRE-HISTORY OF THE NORTH,

BASED ON

Contemporary Memorials,

BY THE LATE

CHAMBERLAIN J. J. A. WORSAAE,

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THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM AND THE ROSENBORG CASTLE IN COPENHAGEN,
GRAND CROSS OF THE DANNEBROG, ETC. ETC.

TRANSLATED, WITH A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A.

With several Illustrations and Map.

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CONTENTS.

Third Part.

THE IRON-AGE.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting this work to the English public, in memory of the distinguished archæologist to whom the early history of our own people also owes a deep debt of gratitude, I desire to express my heartfelt thanks to those of his friends and countrymen from whom I have received encouragement and valuable assistance; and firstly to Fru Worsaae herself, the widow of the author, for her gracious assent to the undertaking; also to Dr. Sophus Müller, secretary of the Northern Text Society, the author's most intimate friend and assistant, for permission to use his memorial address delivered in November last before the Society.[1] To him I am gratefully indebted for several corrections and explanations of difficulties in the text, and still more for his personal kindness and introduction to many of the objects described in this volume.

My best thanks are also due to Fräulein Mestorf,

[1] Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, pt. ii. vol. i. 1886.

the learned writer on Northern Antiquities, curator of the admirable museum in Kiel, from whom I received the like genial courtesy, with leave to use her Nekrolog über Worsaae.[2] Her faithful German translation of the first edition of Norden's Forhistorie (Hamb. 1878) I have had before me throughout, along with her valuable work illustrating the pre-Christian antiquities of Schleswig-Holstein.

To the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education I tender my grateful thanks for their generous permission to borrow the illustrations used in this work from the author's "Industrial Arts of Denmark" —one of the Art Handbooks published by the South Kensington Museum. For further illustrations of the subject the reader is referred to that treatise.

The lines in my map marking the density of population in the Scandinavian North are based on a small map in the "Universal Geography" of Mons. Réclus, published by Messrs. Virtue & Co., whose courteous permission to use it I desire here to acknowledge. The attentive reader will observe that these lines,—as we might expect,—depend chiefly on the natural elevations physical features and climate of the country. It is hoped that this modern instance, when compared with the chart on the progress of the various cultures,

[2] Beilage zum Hamburgischen Correspondenten, 30th August 1885.

will throw some light on the facts and views set forth in this work.

It remains to record my thanks to the kind young friends whose willing hands have lightened the labour of copying for the press.

To the text I have ventured to add a few occasional notes,—chiefly of reference and illustration. But mindful of the author's intention that this should be a popular introduction to the subject, I have not dared to over-burden the text—and the reader's patience—with more elaborate explanations. Those who seek for such will find them most fittingly in the National Collections which Worsaae's genius for arrangement and classification has made the model of all museums and his country's pride. There—

"Si monumentum quæris, circumspice."

The abbreviated references are chiefly to the author's "Arts," *i.e.* "The Industrial Arts of Denmark:" also to

C. P. B.—Corpus Poeticum Boreale, 2 vols., ed. Vigfusson and York Powell (Oxf. 1883).

O. Montel. Kult. Schwed.—Die Kultur Schwedens in Vorchristlicher Zeit, von Oscar Montelius (German Tr. by Carl Appel, Berl. 1883).

Munch Hist.—Det Norske Folks Historie, in 6 parts, 8 vols. (Christiania, 1852–63).

J. M.—Fräulein Mestorf's Vorgeschichtliche Alterthümer aus Schleswig-Holstein (Hamb. 1885).

I have derived much benefit from the various Danish catalogues, which are clear systematic and cheap; and wish that the same could always be said of our own, —where they exist at all. Some of our curators seem to prefer writing expensive works to doing their plain duty by arranging the collections the public has intrusted to their care. Need they wonder, if the public show so little interest in their works, when the collections, to which they are referred, so often repel them by a babel of uncatalogued disorder?

FETTES COLLEGE, EDINBURGH,
October 1886.

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

CHARLES II. being one day in merry mood propounded this deep problem to certain members of the Royal Society: "Why, when a bowl be filled with water to the brim, and fish placed therein, does not the water run over?" Whereupon there arose a mighty cudgelling of wits and babble of learning. When each, according to his favourite lights, had given his reason for the *phenomenon*, the merry monarch solved the riddle himself:—"*It does run over.*" And Charles being a monarch, this was held to settle the matter.

Not so with a discussion which arose between our author and certain learned authorities in 1840. The body of a female had been recently discovered in a bog. This was commonly identified as that of a Norwegian Queen, Gunhild, murdered in Denmark some nine centuries ago and sunk in a marsh. Could the evidence of probabilities be more convincing? Do not our museums usually possess a daughter of the Pharaohs? And is not everything strange a miracle? The single

point at issue was trivial: the principles of criticism involved were all-important; and the plain question of a youthful critic—"Whether the archæological material and the narrative of history had any real connexion?"—remains to mark a new departure in the critical investigation of antiquities, the rise of a new method.

Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae, who had thus the temerity to call the common faith in question, was then a young man in his twentieth year. Born on the 14th March 1821 at Veile in Jutland, where his father, a man of good family, held the post of Public Receiver and Counsellor of Justice, he was educated at the Gymnasium of Horsen, and entered the University of Copenhagen at the age of seventeen. Shortly afterwards he was appointed assistant to Thomsen in the Museum of Northern Antiquities. At an age when most English youths of his position are still *in statu pupillari*, Worsaae won his first victories in science. The struggle with hoary error only served to strengthen in him those principles of investigation and critical comparison to which he owed his early success and title to be considered the founder of a new science. The criticism which stormed the "Heights" of Frode and Harald Hildetand and banished a host of august ghosts to the limbo of popular superstitions was not merely destructive. Sounder principles were then not only laid down but fully tested. Simple as they now may seem to a generation familiar with the brilliant

results of nearly half a century's demonstrations, they were new to the science Worsaae followed, and nowhere systematically applied. "The conviction that information respecting ancient barrows which is not based on the personal observations of skilled investigators cannot be trusted," led him in 1844 to lay down the maxim, "that accurate and trustworthy descriptions of the excavations of barrows are an absolute necessity for the progress of archæology."

During the years 1842–1854—his Wanderjahre—Worsaae laid up rich stores of observation by travels in Sweden Normandy Britanny and the British Isles. He also visited Naples and Rome, returning by France. Shortly afterwards he was chosen Professor of Archæology in Copenhagen. In the intervals of foreign travel he worked zealously on the lines he had already marked out. His "Olden Times of Denmark illustrated by Antiquities and Grave-Heights,"[1] which appeared in 1843, by its very title marked the new epoch. In 1847 he received a larger opportunity of putting his principles in practice by his appointment as Inspector of the Monuments of Danish Antiquities.

At this time the threatened hostilities between Denmark and the Duchies drew the attention of Danish and German archæologists to the antiquities of Schleswig-Holstein; and Worsaae came forward to defend

[1] German Translation, 1884; Lond. 1849, the "Primeval Antiquities of Denmark."

the ancient Danevirke and Kurgrav against the attacks of German writers, eager to claim them as ancient bulwarks against the inroads of "foreign Scandinavianism" from the North.

A few years later he made a valuable contribution to our own early history by the publication of his "Account of the Danes and Northmen in England Scotland and Ireland," a work of which English and German translations appeared in the next year. Hitherto English historians, relying chiefly on their manuscript authorities or following the lead of German writers, had been mostly content to trace our institutions language manners and customs too exclusively to the Anglo-Saxon elements of our race. The Scandinavian *settlements* in our island were either ignored or reduced to a vanishing minimum by writers who assigned to their colonies only such traces of speech &c. as found no analogies, however remote, in the remains of Anglo-Saxon history.

The injustice of applying such a method of residues indiscriminately to all institutions and words, where many had their common origin in both branches of the great Teutonic family, must be obvious to every candid mind. Yet so deeply engrained is this fallacious method in the minds of Englishmen, that we still to a large extent detect its traces in our common dictionaries and popular histories; nor do we know of any English work of the kind that is wholly free from the taint of this prejudice. To Worsaae we owe the first compre-

hensive statement and proof of the large Scandinavian remains in our national characteristics customs names and tongue. His account is based on those permanent irrefragable monuments which stand in our land as "pillars of witness,"—a surer guide to history than all the superstitious tales told by chroniclers and monkish annalists. If we will but read our early history thus, we shall cease to shudder sentimentally at the dark deeds of a dark age, and learn to take a just pride in that "*pirate*" ancestry, which gave us trial by jury and that innate spirit of adventure and love of the sea which have been the real making of England.

The same subject was pursued by Worsaae in various subsequent writings, particularly in his "Danish Conquest of England and Normandy" (1863), a work which has excited far too little attention among English historians.

In 1855 he received the charge and arrangement of the Royal Private Collections. In 1858 he was made Inspector of the Collections in the Rosenborg Castle; and Conservator of the Monuments of Danish Antiquities in 1861. Four years afterwards on the death of Thomsen he was chosen as his successor; and in the following year was appointed Supreme Director of the Museums of Ethnography Northern Antiquities and the Rosenborg Castle.

It is seldom that a single man is called upon to perform duties requiring such vast and varied knowledge

in science arts literature,—in a word, history. But in Worsaae the widest skill knowledge and practical ability were combined with an unflagging energy. He was no mere antiquary bent on a sordid accumulation of old curiosities. His interests covered all. His judgment guided him unerringly to the facts which lay buried in unsightly stones and mouldering weapons, in old church relics and tattered robes. His sound common sense taught him that a museum without order is for the historical student almost as uninstructive as the mixed type of a compositor's desk. Under his guidance the museums of Copenhagen have become endowed with voices of the past, which tell us more of man's history than any other collections in the world.

This is not the testimony of students only, attracted from afar by the value of these collections and the fame of their Director. In Denmark itself there exists among all classes a keen intelligent interest in these subjects, which is mainly due to our author and his able assistants. For Worsaae never lost his warm human sympathies. Savants were his willing disciples. Princes took pleasure in his conversation. Peasants and artisans listened with delight, while in clear forcible language he explained to them the objects of his teachings, and charmed them with his bright and gracious presence, which won all men. Amidst his manifold labours of business research and correspondence with

the learned societies of every civilised land he was a frequent contributor of popular articles on history and archæology to the common magazines and periodicals of his country.

His wide sympathies with everything embraced in the word education, in its highest sense, procured for him the honour of a place as "Kultusminister" in the Cabinet of Fonnesbeck in 1874; but on its dissolution in the following year he gladly retired from a position which interfered too much with his special pursuits.

In nothing was his personal influence felt more for good than in his relations with younger students and subordinates. His attainments commanded the admiration of all; his energy was an unceasing stimulus to diligence. To know him was to love him. But this feeling he never allowed to interfere with their private judgment. "He who seeks the truth must love it as the truth: it matters not who finds it, if it be but found." Thus he was too catholic in his sympathies and interests to be the founder of any school or sect of archæology; and inspired by such an example the "Wandering Apostles of Archæology" from Denmark have carried a new light into many a dark chapter of unwritten history.

But with sympathies so broad his patriotism was always an honourable motive in his work. As a true Dane he was deeply affected by the calamities of his country in 1864. His outspoken condemnation of the condition

of museums in Germany as far back as 1846 had called forth angry rejoinders, though the most candid Germans had admitted the justice of his censure. We have seen him in 1848 defending the Danevirke and Kurgrav against the claims of German scientists. On the outbreak of hostilities these attacks were renewed with increased venom. Not only were the Danes described as strangers in the Duchies, but philologists headed by Jacob Grimm were not ashamed to claim the whole peninsula as originally German, while archæologists in violent and undignified language impugned that "Tripartite System" or division into periods, which it has been Worsaae's greatest achievement to establish, and even attributed the basest motives to their Danish fellow-seekers after truth. Again Worsaae was called to defend his principles and the honour of his country. His superiority in his treatise "On the Antiquities of Slesvig or South Jutland" was complete. But the victory of science was surpassed by his moral victory over such antagonists. To those who still sought his aid he was as ready as ever to give it with ungrudging courtesy. Of all the tributes of praise laid on his tomb none is more glowing than that of Herr Virchow, the distinguished scientist and politician.[1] "Deeply as Worsaae felt the disasters of '64, I must acknowledge the self-command he and his countrymen main-

[1] In his memorial address on Worsaae, delivered before the Anthropological Society in Berlin, October 1885.

tained. Not merely did they carefully abstain from every bitter word, but treated us with the noblest hospitality, in a truly international spirit. Since then our connexions have never been broken."

To the man of honour the words which break no bones wound something far more sensitive. But now that the heat and passion of controversy have long been buried in the graves round Dybböl, we may even feel grateful to his adversaries, not merely for the brilliant defence of his system which they called forth, but for that bright example of *noblesse oblige*. As time has gone by the "Stone Bronze and Iron Ages" have become familiar terms to all; and it would even seem to require an effort of imagination for the younger generation to realise to whom they owe them, and how keen was the controversy which national antipathy raised upon this system of division.

In the year 1865 Worsaae was elected Vice-President of the Society of Ancient Northern Texts. In the performance of these duties his winning manner and fine presence no less than his vast learning made him signally successful. Still wider was the influence he exercised at the International Congress of Archæologists held in Copenhagen in 1869. The impression he created was deep, and resulted in the foundation of the Anthropological Society in Berlin.

Worsaae's wide interests led him to be a frequent contributor to English and French periodicals and an

active correspondent of learned societies in Great Britain Ireland Sweden Italy and Russia. But a mere list of the honours he received the societies of which he was a member and the numerous articles pamphlets and treatises of which he was author would give the reader but a partial idea of his reputation abilities energy and learning. Yet with all these varied and incessant toils he was never depressed. "His happy bright nature"—writes one who knew him well in his home as well as in his studies—"was the reflexion of his genial and indwelling kindness of heart, which found its spring of joy in his home. Whoever had the good fortune to stay as guest or friend in his house knows that it lay under the same breadth of sunshine which he carried in himself. It would be hard to find another family so happy amiable and united as that of Worsaae."

Of his later writings we shall say but little. The main results of his life of labour are summed up in the work now offered to the English public. Its history and objects may be learned best from the author's own preface.

This work was speedily followed by his "Danish Arts," in which he shows what progress he was making with his investigations in the ancient beliefs of the Northmen. Probably the pursuit of this inquiry now divided his energies with his duties as Director of three museums. With the exception of a valuable treatise on the arrangement of museums of archæology and history

he does not appear to have published any writing of importance during the few remaining years of his life.

In the midst of apparent health and active work he was touched by the sudden hand of death. Quietly as he sat engaged in his loved studies he passed away, on the 15th August 1885, leaving to his country and the world a rich legacy of work accomplished and a masterly sketch for the direction of future research. Denmark is justly proud of the world-wide reputation of Thorvaldsen. The visitor who enters the noble mausoleum which enshrines his works is struck with the magnificent simplicity of a tomb where the great sculptor rests amidst his own creations. But the genius of Thorvaldsen was trained in Italy and formed entirely on Greek models. We turn with a feeling of regret from the sad repose of classic divinities, and look in vain for some expression of the spirit of ancient Northern creeds sagas and history. This we must seek elsewhere, among the very works of that spirit, in the Museum of Northern Antiquities. To the artist who has called it forth his grateful country can erect no more fitting monument than a nobler building,—such as he himself sketched in the last of his writings,—to contain those treasures collected arranged and explained by the greatest of its modern sons.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE present work is intended to give a general survey of the most important results as yet attained by the modern investigation of prehistoric antiquities. It was originally printed in Danish by the Letterstedt Association in the "Nordisk Tidskrift för Vetenskap Konst och Industri" (Stockholm 1878, Parts 1–3). It was then published in German as a separate book under the title: "Die Vorgeschichte des Nordens nach gleichzeitigen Denkmälern" (Hamburg 1878), with an introduction by the translator Fräulein J. Mestorf, curator of the Museum of Antiquities in Kiel—who has done so much for the study of Northern Antiquities —and a preface by myself.

After frequent appeals I was just on the point of re-publishing the work in Danish in a more accessible form for general readers, than the above-mentioned periodical presents, when I had the good fortune to discover the meaning of the sacred signs used by the ancient inhabitants of the North and of the representa-

tions on the gold bracteates and on the two very remarkable Golden Horns from the district of Mögeltönder in North-Slesvig. This enabled me to take a broad and unexpected view of the ancient religious life of the Northmen, as well as of the other kindred Germanic races, especially during the early period of the Iron-Age, just before the great national migrations in the fifth century after the birth of Christ.

In reference to this I have rewritten that part of my work which deals with this subject. Along with this I have woven in the most important of the archæological observations made in the last three years (1878–80). These, among other results, have shown more and more a striking external and internal agreement in the main between the gradual stages of development of the Stone and Bronze Ages in various parts of the world. They bear new witness to the remarkably universal currents of culture during the Iron-Age also; and justify us in connecting the first beginnings of the Iron-Age in the most southern parts of the North with the pre-Roman Iron-culture, thus fixing its date somewhat earlier than it had previously been the custom to assume.

In a more detailed work, for which this may serve as the forerunner, it is my intention as soon as possible to deal more closely with those numerous coincident facts observed in many lands, on which I have based my new and, as I hope, successful explanations men-

tioned above. At any rate it can no longer be doubted that the prehistoric contemporary records themselves, which have hitherto served chiefly as evidence of external conditions of culture, are also of foremost importance for a trustworthy and full comprehension of the creeds of individual peoples, and especially of that hope of a life hereafter, which inspired our forefathers not least of all throughout the whole of antiquity, and which at last prepared and aided the transition from heathenism to Christianity.

J. J. A. WORSAAE.

COPENHAGEN, ROSENBORG,
14th December 1880.

INTRODUCTION.

THE investigation of prehistoric antiquities is still in its earliest infancy. From northern Europe, we may even add, more especially from the Scandinavian North, where even in our own times its cradle stood, it has succeeded with surprising rapidity in overspreading well-nigh all lands both in Europe and beyond. Based on contemporary facts and thus strengthened in the struggle with the traditional prejudices of literature nationality and, in part, of politics, it has begun to open new vistas into various and still measureless ages of man's existence on the earth prior to sure written history. Thus much may with certainty be now predicted, that the theories formerly accepted in science and derived solely from written sources concerning the comparatively late origin of the human race the rise of diverse national stocks their development in culture and gradual extension over various lands will either be completely overthrown, or at least undergo a searching change.

But as a matter of course a mode of inquiry so new and so unusually comprehensive in the study of prehistoric antiquities cannot yet offer many general firm and universally convincing scientific results, to replace the old prejudices hitherto prevailing. The foundations of the comparative method of investigation have been successfully laid. Research is no longer confined solely to the prehistoric monuments everywhere preserved. Ethnography natural science the science of language and the oldest and most trustworthy documents must all lend their aid. Yet it will be long ere each single group of lands and peoples can be assigned its right place in the whole steadily progressive development of man during the far-reaching pre-historic ages.

Nor will it as a rule be possible yet to give a comprehensive and generally trustworthy representation of the peculiar form presented by the earliest prehistoric stages of culture in each country. The older the civilisation and written records of such lands as India Egypt Greece and Italy, the more evidently are the prehistoric traces effaced or difficult to distinguish from the numerous extant memorials of later conditions of civilisation.

The right way to solve this problem is to be sought for most directly in remoter regions, which have been disturbed by the great historical streams of civilisation only at a later time and in a less degree. For in such lands the last relics of the bygone and preparatory

primitive stages have been preserved longest and purest. Once gain a firm hold of the thread which unmistakably winds through the earliest portions of man's life over the whole world, and it will be easier gradually to unravel this closely twisted and tangled knot.

In this respect the distant Scandinavian North and the nearest neighbouring countries southward on the Baltic and North Seas occupy a specially favourable position. It was no mere chance that this very quarter should prove one of the first and most important starting-points of the new prehistoric archæology. Careful and systematic examinations of the unusually large number of prehistoric memorials preserved in the North have succeeded in showing here the succession of the Stone Bronze and Iron Ages. Thus observation has long been turned to a corresponding succession in the primitive stages of human culture elsewhere, nay, in almost every part of the world. Hence we may with truth maintain that the first clear ray has been shed across the universal prehistoric gloom of the North and of the world in general. Gradually as the domain of research is widened and cleared by the road of comparison, may we here, more than in most other lands, hope occasionally from the rich and pure material at hand to present larger glimpses over the territory gained, illuminating the course of colonisation and the last heaving of the waves on the main course of culture in Scandinavia, and thus materially contri-

buting to a juster comprehension of the earlier nature and development of the streams of culture in the rest of Europe, and even in other quarters of the globe, as they at last made their way up to the remote North.

In such general surveys many great changes and improvements must necessarily be made in accordance with later and more successful investigations. But this cannot weigh in comparison with the progress attained, if we thus succeed more and more in riveting attention on some of the principal starting-points for future investigations, and so help to point out more definitely the plain natural way, by which research both here and elsewhere will most readily and best be able to open up new roads.

THE PRE-HISTORY OF THE NORTH.

First Part.

THE STONE-AGE.

CHAPTER I.

THE STONE-AGE IN GENERAL.

FROM the earliest dates of which we possess the sure written records, Europe received from Asia and North Africa steady fertilising influences of culture, the result partly of new immigrations. That this was the case in pre-historic periods, and that the later movements of culture thus merely followed the track of the older, is in itself probable. At all events there is no sufficient evidence forthcoming as yet in Europe to show that in the primeval ages of mankind Europe had an earlier or at least as early and in comparison as developed a population as in the most favoured regions of Asia. More and more do archæological facts testify that in the oldest culture lands of Asia and North Africa, as

for instance in India China Assyria and Egypt, an Age of Stone must once have prevailed—followed by a Bronze Age—long before those highly developed stages of culture recognised by history, which were in full bloom in these countries thousands of years before the birth of Christ. Similar strata of ancient culture and in part of several earlier populations even within the limits of the Stone Age are beginning to show themselves in Egypt Asia Japan the South Sea Islands and America, where men have thought—though scarcely always on sufficient grounds—to find the last remains of the real aboriginal inhabitants in the still existing savage races. We are not now concerned with the origin of the chief races of man. In the very beginnings of history they confront us with fully stamped characteristics. The gradual spread and development of mankind have in general proceeded with the greatest slowness. Only exceptionally at certain epochs and in particular places have races progressed at a bound. And this very slowness is obviously greatest in the case of the Stone Age, and in particular during its most primitive periods; since only the scantiest and most miserable resources then stood at man's command. We may indeed be still unable to adopt the geologist Sir Charles Lyell's theory that the human race has probably existed on earth for some 100,000 years. Yet this much is certain: the more our glance is directed to that epoch-making point of time, when the Creator wakened man in all his nakedness into life, and therefore most probably under a warmer sun in some more genial climate, the more does that point recede into an endlessly distant indefinable past.

Europe in particular does not appear to have received its first population, before the human race had spread extensively elsewhere. The growth of settlement and consequent want of support must gradually have forced races and families to change their original sunny homes for more distant and inclement lands. As such an original or at all events very important starting-point for the population of the earth or first settlement on a larger scale we must in any case regard Asia, and particularly, till further evidence be forthcoming, India, so richly endowed by nature. Here in ancient chalk-deposits under the earth's surface numerous relics have been found of a primitive Stone-Age. These clearly embrace a gradual development from a lower to a higher stage. In fact stone antiquities in India are generally regarded with superstitious awe on account of their high age, and are regularly deposited in the temples as offerings to the gods. There is every probability that it was from India the settlers went forth, who, according to the unanimous testimony of archæological and ethnographical indications, during the earliest and lowest stages of culture in the Age of Stone overspread the east and north of Asia; whence some of them crossed Behrings Straits to America, others the Indian islands to the South Seas. Remarkably similar discoveries of various stone objects of the rudest kind in India Assyria and the most southern and western parts of Europe point also to the probability that a corresponding westward movement led the earliest immigrants to Syria Egypt and Asia Minor, thence onwards over the present boundaries of Europe, and thus for the first time to the warm

and fruitful coast-lands bordering on the Black Sea and Mediterranean.[1]

It is true that the lands of the Mediterranean were in a very distant historical period the seat of a highly developed and peculiar classic culture, which must necessarily have been preceded locally by more primitive circumstances to begin with; and for these the most favourable natural conditions lay to hand. But it is the investigation of pre-historic antiquities, in opposition to the usual views of classical learning, which has in recent years first clearly shown by means of a comparatively astonishing quantity of mutually corroborative discoveries that in the long ages, before there could be any question of a really great development of culture, a people must have lived throughout the coast-lands of the Mediterranean, who were unacquainted with the use of metals, and who from the very first supported themselves, in the usual manner of savage races, partly by fishing and hunting, partly on herbs roots and fruits.

For a people of so low standing, who for their maintenance and protection against enemies and wild beasts possessed only the most necessary simple and clumsy implements of stone bone and wood, it was easier to spread along the more open mild sea-coasts, than, even by help of the great rivers, to push their way at once up into the interior of Europe. Every-

[1] Mommsen's statement (Hist. Rome, vol. i., chap. ii., Eng. tr.) requires correction: "Nothing has hitherto been brought to light to warrant the supposition that mankind existed in Italy at a period anterior to the knowledge of agriculture and of the smelting of metals." The museums of Italy tell a different tale, and might have warned so careful an archæologist from roundly asserting a negative.

where in this direction they must have found themselves confronted by huge primeval forests and marshes deadly with poisonous exhalations, or mountain-chains, that, in far greater extent than now in the South and North, were shrouded with the mighty remains of the slowly vanishing masses of ice, which at one time—in the so-called "Ice-Age"—lay fast packed over a great portion of Europe.

Not a few discoveries of the self-same character have been made in the countries of the Mediterranean, in the lands of western Europe, on the coasts of the Atlantic, in France Belgium and England. These appear sufficient to prove that the first new settlers, who frequently had their abode in mountain-caves or under overhanging cliffs, and who were coeval with the mammoth cave-bear cave-hyena rhinoceros and many other great mammals long ago extinct in Europe, must at first have preferred under the severer or sharply changeful climate then prevailing to sojourn on the coasts or the great river plains or at all events in the actual coast-lands.

A somewhat milder period followed. Man had now learned to produce fire by rubbing pieces of wood or striking flint and quartz. The great mammals were on the eve of disappearing; while the reindeer was beginning to play a more important part as a means of subsistence for the increasing population. Till then probably no very considerable tracts of central Europe had received their earliest inhabitants, however feeble and few, along the river plains leading from the Black Sea or Mediterranean. Moreover these people under a new influence, as it seems, from Egypt and Asia now began perceptibly to develop and improve their ex-

tremely rough and clumsy implements of stone and bone. This improvement and especially the use of fire must have largely aided them in their advance from the coasts through the thick primeval forests, as well as in their struggle for daily food.

But of any real settlement of the high Scandinavian North or generally of north-western Europe in these remote periods of the Stone-Age, called the Mammoth or Reindeer Period or the "Palæolithic-Age," not a single trace has yet been revealed. As the countries on the Baltic were among the last to receive the peoples of the Stone-Age, so it was reserved for the remote Scandinavian North longest to preserve some of the last remains left by the primitive conditions of the Stone-Age in Europe.

As yet the whole North with its lofty snow-capped mountain peaks its granite cliffs overgrown with thick gloomy primeval forests its long dales and lowlands formed an undiscovered wilderness, where only swarms of wild beasts roamed undisturbed. In the west and south-west of Europe meantime the population was steadily increasing. Simultaneously an entirely new development of the originally low culture of the Stone-Age began to spread abroad, more especially in the extreme south of Europe. Hunting and fishing demand exceptionally large tracts and frequent change of habitation, if they are to provide sufficient food all the year round for increasing races. Instead of these pursuits cattle-breeding agriculture and even gardening were now coming more to the front as the most important means of livelihood. The new needs were followed by larger permanent dwellings with stalls for the cattle

and store-houses against the winter. Clothes—partly woven of wool—were improved. More implements of greater variety were fashioned with a skill and taste as yet unknown. Large graves of stone were erected; and in them were laid the implements ornaments and weapons needed by the dead, as was most naturally supposed, in the other world.

The very appearance of these stone graves is remarkable. In structure they are peculiar, and on comparison evidently uniform. They can be traced to north Africa and far into Asia, nay, now even to Japan and North America. It is highly probable therefore that the distinct progress of culture in south and west Europe during the Later Stone-Age, as indicated by the appearance of pile-dwellings and other remains, was due to foreign influences, or more directly to a steadily increasing immigration of peoples. Possibly they were of various origin. But in any case they brought with them a culture common in the main to all; and advanced from the older culture lands—again chiefly from Asia. Races so savage as the earliest inhabitants of south and west Europe must have been, are not wont to develop themselves to any great extent without foreign influence or strong blendings of peoples beforehand. Nay, in general they are quite incapable of receiving a higher civilisation. Gradually therefore a growing population overspread the south and west of Europe. More and more the ancient forests were cleared to form pasturage for cattle and open fields for tillage. With the spread of agriculture the hunting grounds must have shrunk back. The older races, living only on hunting and fishing, and unable or unwilling to adapt themselves

to the new conditions of culture, would inevitably be pushed northwards. Here at least, though in sterner regions, they might still for a long time pursue their ancient manner of life without hindrance and aided only by the simple implements and weapons, all the patterns of which they had brought with them from their early homes in western Europe.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY STONE-AGE IN THE NORTH.

In the south the Later Stone-Age had now reached its fullest development. Already the commencement of its slow decline had set in on the east coasts of the Mediterranean nearest to Egypt and Asia. About this time the lands on the Baltic appear to have received their first savage inhabitants, ousted by the pressure of more favoured races. How late their arrival may be seen from the fact that they had not only learned to produce fire with flint, but brought with them an art unknown to the oldest and rudest peoples—that of burning earthen vessels, in which they were better able to boil and bake their food. Many circumstances serve to prove that the lands of the North were then the same in form as now. The North Sea had long rolled its mighty billows between England and Denmark, joined in bygone ages. The Baltic also, bursting through and forming belts and sounds, had severed the great Scandinavian peninsula the Danish islands and the peninsula of Jutland from one another.

Coming from the west and south-west, from the coast-lands of the Atlantic and North Sea, the roaming and scattered hunters and fishers must first have lit upon the peninsula of Jutland. Before them lay a land

almost wholly covered down to the coasts with thick woods. Only here and there, especially on the higher ridges, were the forests broken by heaths, and on the west coast by meadows and marshes. To the west the stormy North Sea broke on shoals (*sandrevler*) and dunes of sand, and but few fjords were to be found. Here there was less prospect of support for the new settlers than to the east, where the calmer Baltic and Cattegat were everywhere embayed in Sounds and fjords between woody isles. The primeval forests in part at least still consisted of pines, which afterwards vanished before the oak beech and leafy woods in general. They swarmed with wandering herds of reindeer; while elks Ur-oxen (*bos urus*) bisons bears wolves lynxes wild boars red deer beavers and other game were plentiful. Nor were they less rich in woodcocks swans great auks and countless other land and sea birds. Whales were occasionally to be seen swimming in the sea. Seals and shoals of fish abounded. Close under the shores, particularly in the Cattegat, as well as in the North Sea to some extent, was a profusion of oysters mussels cockles and other edible shell-fish. Both on the more open seaboard and scattered around in the land lay masses of stone, particularly of the flint peculiar to the soil of Denmark, yielding ample material for the manufacture of the implements and weapons most needful to hunters and fishermen. In spite of the higher northern latitude the climate was not exceptionally severe, owing to the neighbourhood of the sea the general insular character of the land and the woods, which gave shelter from the wind.

To lowlands so easily accessible so well provided by

nature and offering such unusually favourable conditions for hunting and fishing the first inhabitants must have come rather to spy out than settle. Others soon followed. The peninsula of Jutland would appear also in these respects to have exercised an earlier and stronger attraction than the south coasts of the Baltic. These, if we except the island of Rügen, strongly distinguished by its remarkable chalk formations and visible from several points of Denmark, have as yet at all events shown but faint traces of a corresponding primitive population. In Jutland on the contrary numerous memorials and scattered discoveries of antiquities testify that the first immigrants spread chiefly on the east along the coasts and fjords as far as the northmost part of the Liim-fjord. Where they could, they would prefer to occupy islets off the coast. Not only were they here freer from the unwholesome exhalations of woods and marshes, but safer against sudden attacks of racial enemies or wild beasts. Here they could conveniently fish in the sea and hunt in the adjacent woods on the coast. If for the sake of the chase they wished to push further inland in their simple canoes and boats hollowed out of trunks, they could always follow the river courses, which as a rule were more extensive then than now.

Only however on those points of the coast of Jutland near which rich oyster-beds were to be found does it appear to have been possible for more numerous races to live and support themselves regularly for any considerable time or for the whole year round. Remains of such a life may be recognised in the huge heaps of refuse from their meals, the "Kitchen-middens"

(*Kjökkenmöddinger*), as they are called. They contain evident remains of hearths scattered potsherds and traces of charcoal and ashes, and consist of millions of shells of eaten oysters mussels and snails as well as countless bones of wild beasts—some of them split for the sake of the marrow—and all manner of rudely formed stone and bone implements, mostly of small size, with the refuse of their manufacture. But the oyster-catching fishing and hunting in Jutland alone would not long suffice for the support of the increasing population. Gradually they must have crossed the Belts, and by following the nearest coasts of the Cattegat reached the north of Fÿen. Thence they would cross to Seeland, where the coast was fringed by numerous islets, and the vast forests, not less than in Jutland, abounded in game. Huge heaps of shells in north Seeland show in like manner that the new settlers existed permanently in certain spots, where it was important for them to be near the oyster-beds in the fjords and on the coasts.

Of Fÿen and Seeland, according to the observations as yet made, Seeland with the isles around it is beyond comparison richest in remains of the first immigrants at the beginning of the Stone-Age in Denmark. But in course of time a growing population in Seeland would be unable to obtain sufficient support only on the short north coast bordering on the Cattegat, even with the help of the large oyster-beds which then existed there. They were soon therefore obliged to begin spreading themselves over the coasts and isles along the remaining borders of Seeland on the Sound the Great Belt and the Baltic. True, no oysters were

as a rule to be found there. Indeed the brackish waters of the Baltic were just as little able then as now to afford a fair livelihood. But in other respects the conditions of nature were favourable as well in Seeland as on the other adjacent low isles, which are however as a rule of no great extent. Deep inlets of the sea and not a few river-courses opened a comparatively easy approach from the coasts and neighbouring isles, leading through the woods to freshwater lakes in the interior teeming with fish, and at the same time to new and by no means unimportant resources. On the other hand the necessity of gaining a livelihood does not appear to have driven the new settlers far from the coasts to the islands lying out in the more open sea. In Bornholm for instance no memorials have been discovered to indicate the track of the primeval inhabitants. Strangely enough they never crossed the Sound in any great numbers from Seeland to Scania, where the conditions of nature on a fairly large scale were otherwise favourable to them. Only on the extreme coasts of the Scandinavian peninsula to the south and south-west as far as the southern point of Norway (Lister) have they left behind them meagre and scattered remains. And these too with their admixture of earlier or later objects point for the most part to the very close of the Early Age of Stone.

Every indication thus tends to bespeak a limited area of the present Danish lands as the chief seat of the earliest inhabitants who came to the Scandinavian north, coming from the west—namely Jutland Fÿen and the adjacent isles. With the exception of occasional rare discoveries of mixed or transitional objects

the contents of the refuse-heaps or kitchen-middens and the contemporary objects found on islands coasts and fjords present a living picture of a hunting and fishing people clad in skins alone. For a long time without the slightest change development or least acquaintance with metal they continued to stand on the same low level as at their first arrival. In the struggle—often doubtless hard enough—to gain the bare requisites of life it is sufficiently certain that no internal activity of its own enabled this remote people to rise either to cattle-rearing agriculture or any independent radical improvement in their simple implements of stone and bone. They continued to reproduce the peculiar forms they had originally brought from western Europe. Rude stone objects identically similar in form and evidently from a corresponding stage of culture can also be shown in cave field and coast finds from south Europe as well as in finds from the district of Thebes in Egypt, from Japan, and from the shell-heaps of America.[1] Neither in the refuse-heaps of Denmark nor in the shell-heaps of Japan or America is there the least trace found of a fuller development and change in ornamental objects. Besides feathers and other trophies of the chase usually affected by savage races their ornaments appear to have been confined chiefly to strings of animals' teeth. And yet in the case of Denmark numerous coast-districts and especially the west coast of Jutland offered in amber a material elsewhere early used for all

[1] "Kitchen-middens" have been found in Terra del Fuego and Brazil, in Japan near Omeri between Yokohama and Tokio, and in the Andaman Islands.

sorts of trinkets. The first inhabitants of Denmark, or of southmost Scandinavia, are therefore to be compared most closely with the long-vanished savage races, which formed corresponding refuse-heaps on the coasts of Japan and America—especially along the river-margins of the latter—or with the partly still-existing inferior peoples in South America, off the coasts of Japan, and in the South Seas, who support themselves in the same way on shell-fish fishing and hunting. Accordingly we need not be surprised that in Denmark no distinct graves from the older Age of Stone have as yet been disclosed. Certainly nowhere else have such rude peoples as a rule been in the habit of rearing great permanent monuments to preserve for thousands of years the earthly remains of their dead in undisturbed repose.

Be that as it may, the first inhabitants of Denmark certainly were not wanting in religious ideas more than other savage peoples. In the refuse-heaps and on many of the smaller islands then regularly visited or permanently inhabited, mingled with charcoal animal bones and potsherds, lies so vast a quantity of useful but often evidently unused implements weapons and other articles of stone and bone, that it is impossible all can be regarded as lost by chance or simply cast away. It is well known that the Caribs Andaman Islanders and others both at high festivals and daily meals use certain portions of their provisions together with implements ornaments &c. as offerings to their gods. There is therefore nought to hinder the belief that a northern people on nearly the same level may have remembered their gods in a similar manner. At

other places in Denmark on shoals or on certain frequently submerged isles in lakes and fjords, especially at the mouths of rivers flowing into the fjords on the east coast of Jutland, implements of stone and bone and pieces of cut bone and antlers have been gathered in patches of extraordinary numbers. As regards these singular discoveries, or at any rate a great part of them, there are very good grounds for assuming that they are the remains of offerings, which the primitive inhabitants dedicated to their gods, before they sallied out a-fishing or hunting, in the hope that the catch would thus be all the larger. Historical accounts of Lapps or Finns in the high North not less than corresponding discoveries in and near the fjords and islands testify that the very same customs, natural in themselves, were also prevalent at a much later date in the northernmost districts of the Scandinavian North.

During the early Stone-Age there can scarcely have been any intercourse to speak of between Finns and Lapps in the remote northern highlands of Scandinavia and the inhabitants of the more accessible lowlands to the south. Most probably the whole of the great Scandinavian peninsula, with the exception of the open districts on the coasts of the Baltic and Cattegat, was still entirely uninhabited. The antiquities of slate found sporadically in the more southern regions, especially to the south-east, which have perhaps a chance likeness to distinctly Finnish stone objects, cannot show that Lapps or Finns had already so early wandered westward from northern Asia over the north of Russia into the northernmost parts of Sweden and Norway. But even should this be maintained against all evidence

as yet produced, it is certain that the Lapps or Finns differed in race from Denmark's original inhabitants. They were cut off from them throughout the whole country down to the Cattegat and extreme coasts of Scania by wild and partly glacier-covered fields by rivers and lakes by immense and still impenetrable tracts of ancient forest. The oldest articles of stone and bone discovered in the extreme North may have an apparent likeness to Lappish or Finnish Stone-Age objects from Finland north Russia and the north of Asia. But both in material and form they differ entirely from the Early Stone-Age antiquities of southern Scandinavia. They constitute a distinct "Arctic" group in the European Stone-Age.

What people it was which showed the road for more highly developed races, and thus first laid the foundation for the settlement of Denmark in particular, and subsequently of the rest of the North, is just as unknown as the time of their arrival extension and final expulsion or absorption by a dominant race of higher standing. The solution of this problem it will be impossible to approach, until firmer starting-points from the western mother-countries have been gained by the Comparative Method. Speaking quite provisionally, after a survey of the duration of the subsequent stages of culture in the North itself, namely both in the Later Stone-Age and the whole Bronze-Age,—which must evidently embrace thousands of years before the Christian era,—we may place the first inhabitants of Denmark at least three thousand years before the birth of Christ, or in all nearly five thousand years ago. A common fixed time so far as concerns the whole of ancient Denmark

is scarcely to be expected. The Early Stone-Age must certainly have appeared in Jutland before it reached the islands; where on the other hand it may have maintained its hold long after Jutland or at any rate the southern part of it had begun to be the seat of a new and higher development. Similar local differences of time within the several stages of culture are more and more apparent everywhere, but of course still more distinctly in more extensive countries.

CHAPTER III.

THE LATER STONE-AGE IN THE NORTH.

In the first settlement of Europe the fringe of coasts and nearest river courses had everywhere played a leading part. So long as hunting and fishing formed the most important resources of the settlers, and vast stretches of coast were still untrod by human foot, the primeval inhabitants, unaccompanied by any domestic animal save the dog, would have no great difficulty in spreading further or flitting from place to place, when they began to be pinched for food. In mountain lands there was seldom any lack of caves to shelter them from cold and storm. In wooded lowlands like Denmark humble cabins of earth and logs could be speedily rebuilt at any time.

Far slower and more difficult must have been the work of removal and settlement, when the people were accompanied by whole trains of domestic animals—oxen sheep swine and horses; when too they had to clear the virgin forests, to make way for larger fixed farms pasture and gardens. A very long time must have elapsed ere the more highly developed races steadily advancing from south and west were in a condition,—as lake-dwellings stone graves and other memorials show,—to spread from the Mediterranean

coasts over Switzerland part of south Germany the whole of France Belgium Holland the British Isles and north-western Germany.

Meantime, while the new culture was again pushing forward east and south along the Rhine and Elbe into the heart of Germany, as far as Thuringia possibly, and northwards over the Scandinavian lands, the practical knowledge of metals—bronze and gold—must already have begun to spread in southern Europe.

The last period of the Stone-Age in the high North on the Baltic North Sea and Atlantic was therefore even in its earliest stage most probably contemporaneous with the victorious advance and first independent development of the Bronze-Age in more southern lands, particularly on the Mediterranean.

From many circumstances it is clear that the races which in the west of Europe during the period of the Stone-Age had the task of opening up the lands and so preparing the way for the introduction of a far higher culture, which brought with it the knowledge of metal, had themselves long ceased to be savage in the ordinary sense of the term or, as such, to remain unsusceptible of any foreign influence and incapable of self-improvement. In the South Sea Islands examples have recently been met with showing that Stone-Age peoples under exceptionally favourable circumstances have raised themselves to a not inconsiderable height of culture in comparison with wretched savages in their vicinity.

In contrast with the actual uniformity which is distinctly apparent almost everywhere in south and west Europe in the remains of the older and ruder period of the Stone-Age, besides what is very common

and uniform, a richer diversity now begins to arise in different lands.

This would seem to indicate that the tribes of the Later Stone-Age during their gradual extension from the south over west and north-west Europe were steadily developing. In the Mediterranean countries numerous well-developed forms of pottery ornaments and implements of bone and polished stone have already been found. The implements are however still small. But this was due in part to the comparative rarity and smallness of the flint in those countries. Nor are the stone graves there distinguished for ambitious style of building. They are indeed comparatively rare owing to the early expulsion of the Stone Age in the South.

In France on the other hand the stone graves are beyond comparison more numerous and larger, especially to the west in the remote Britanny. Here the walls of the stone chambers are often decorated with carved ornaments and figures representing among other things axes of the same shape as the large handsomely-polished stone axes, which with other implements weapons and ornaments are found laid in the chambers along with the unburnt bodies of the dead. On the walls of some stone chambers in France and central Germany are figures designed even in colours. In Britanny in the immediate vicinity of the stone graves and closely associated with them may be seen immensely huge stones, often erected in long rows. On the whole the permanent memorials of the Stone-Age appear to have reached their highest pitch to the west, in Britanny and Ireland, where the people of western Europe during

the Stone-Age maintained themselves longest separate from the overpowering influences of the advancing Bronze-culture.

Closely connected with this considerable progress in the structure of graves was an evident progress in the manufacture of implements weapons and ornaments. Man was no longer content, as before, to use the flint blocks lying scattered on the surface and hardened by the action of the atmosphere. From these as a rule he could fashion only small flint implements. By and by he came to the knowledge that flint when just exhumed from its natural bed in the earth is more brittle and easy to work. Workshops were established in flinty localities of France Belgium and England, and even regular flint mines with extensive subterranean passages. Larger and handsomer implements were here produced in great numbers, and a considerable traffic carried on even with distant regions. Many of the flint implements, especially axes, were now polished to a degree hitherto unknown; whereas such a polishing in the older periods of the Stone-Age had been limited to implements of softer kinds of stone.

By the side of the newer and handsomer forms thus gradually called into being by greater prosperity increasing requirements and extended communications, the productions of the Later Stone-Age in the western lands had this in common, that not a few of the older typical forms, especially of axes and chisels, were retained. In these and in many other respects the stone articles in western Europe form a peculiar group, evidently distinct from the antiquities of stone in the North, *e.g.* in Holland, Hannover, Mecklenburg, and the old Danish

lands,[1] where a still greater independence and variety of forms everywhere asserted itself. Specially was this the case in the northernmost part of this European group, in the Scandinavian lowlands, where flint abounds. Here the culture of the Later Stone-Age, so far as concerns objects of stone, presents itself in a peculiar and highly-developed shape hardly surpassed elsewhere. Very large manufactory-finds prove that here also, as in western Europe, stone implements were extensively produced and other districts also supplied with them.

If the stone graves of the North cannot compare in size and decoration with many of the monuments of western Europe dating from the close of the Stone-Age,—the cause of which ought perhaps to be traced to the difference between the softer and more workable kinds of stone in west Europe and the hard granite of the North,—yet numerous Northern stone graves also present an imposing magnitude as well as distinct and very noticeable characteristics. In spite of the differences between the monuments and antiquities in the Western and Northern groups the internal agreement between the two groups both in style of structure and contents of the stone graves are still in many details so great, that they evidently not only stand on the same level, but the Northern must be regarded as a continuation and progressive development of the Western. Like a foreign plant reared and fostered under a more favourable climate, the comparatively high culture of the Later Stone-Age enters Denmark

[1] Including Slesvig (north of the Eider) Scania Halland and Blekinge. *Vide* Map.

at last by way of north-west Germany, where doubtless the earliest germs had been laid of the peculiarities destined at a later time to produce a more fully marked individuality in the Scandinavian North.

Not less slowly than in other lands of Europe must the new culture have moved up step by step to the then still thickly wooded peninsula of Jutland. The nearest accessible sea-coasts fjords and river-banks, which had as yet been occupied only by roving hunter and fisher folk, could not here suffice for a permanently settled and steadily growing population, who now regarded hunting and fishing as a matter of minor importance, and more and more felt the increasing necessities of life. Little by little from the coasts and river-banks they must have cleared the dense primeval forests laboriously with fire and stone axes and opened up the interior.

Slowly then this wood-felling population with its need of larger dwellings its cattle-rearing and, as we know, with the rudiments of agriculture would work its way up the peninsula. But a long period must have elapsed ere they had reached a point north enough, namely about the middle, to enable them to expand further eastwards over Fÿen Seeland and the remaining Danish islands. One result of this was that the primitive conditions of the Early Stone-Age culture could still linger for a long time unmolested in remote regions of Denmark by the side of the new culture in its gradual advance from south and west. More particularly in the extreme north of Jutland in the most easterly parts of Seeland and in Scania would these conditions be the last to suffer disturbance and final expulsion.

It was indeed natural in itself for the older hunting and fishing people in the Danish lands to feel the effects of the higher culture more and more firmly established in their immediate neighbourhood. First and foremost they must soon have become possessed of the better hunting weapons and tools imported by the newcomers. Proof of this occurs in the numerous scattered objects of fine form and workmanship which are found mingled with objects otherwise characteristic of the Earlier Stone-Age. From other discoveries it is not improbable that some of the earlier inhabitants may by degrees have adopted the new culture more extensively, and soon in part or wholly altered their previous mode of life.

For such minglings and transitions there was time enough, before the new culture could finally and fully overspread the whole land. But in general it cannot possibly have taken root in Denmark only among the native races of earlier times. Were that the case, the regular transitions at all points would have been beyond measure more evident. On the contrary the contents of the monuments left by the Earlier Stone-Age stand in far too sharp and definite a contrast to the singularly uniform contents of all the barrows and "Giant-chambers" and of all the larger finds gathered from the Later Stone-Age as well in Denmark as in the neighbouring lands more to the south and north. It is altogether inconceivable that races so rude and cut off from the rest of the world, as Denmark's primeval inhabitants, should have been in a better condition than other similarly situated peoples not merely at once and thoroughly to adopt a higher civilisation of

alien origin, but even to carry it on to a pitch of development elsewhere unknown. Even apart from the eloquent contents of the stone graves the mere consideration of their distribution their huge structure their mutual agreement and general exterior both in other lands and in the North lead us involuntarily to recognise that, just as in the West and South, they are derived directly or principally from new powerful tribes pushing on more and more northwards, before whom the older and weaker hunting and fisher folk must as a rule have vanished or sunk into dependence and thraldom.

The examination and comparison of the unburnt bodies laid in the stone graves have as yet failed to show the particular race in which we should definitely class those more powerful tribes. But this much already has been deduced from the mixed and various forms of the skulls,[2] that in this respect no great difference can be indicated between the populations then and now existing in Denmark and the rest of the North.

Such was doubtless the manner in which the higher dominant people arrived during the Later Age of Stone. For them too the mild Danish lowlands presented no less allurements than for their primeval hunting and fishing predecessors. There was no dearth of game and fish; and the takes must now have been greatly facili-

[2] Against the statement of Sir Charles Lyell (*Prim. Man*, p. 15–16). Mons. Reclus makes a strange assertion in the "Universal Geography," vol. ix. p. 59, concerning the existence in Denmark till the sixteenth century of "a people of very feeble cranial capacity." Such exist in all civilised countries, but are hardly to be regarded as typical.

tated by the new and much improved arrows spears lances fish-hooks harpoons salmon-spears &c. Still greater was the attraction exercised by the productiveness of the soil. Everywhere, so to speak, must it have seemed to be waiting only for the hands to remove the boulder-stones trees and bushes which covered it, in order to reveal inexhaustible sources of wealth in grassy meadows and fertile fields. For the erection of stone graves and the foundation-stones of houses mighty granite blocks dating from the Ice-Age lay scattered around. The manufacture of better and handsomer flint implements now, more than ever, demanded a better material: it would be easy in excavations to pick up the larger flint-cores from their natural bed in the earth. Among the countless boulders which strewed the ground there was ample choice of softer kinds of stone suitable for polishing their flint implements and manufacturing the unusually various and often delicately formed axes and hammers with drilled sockets. And in the land itself lay material in abundance for the now generally used and highly prized amber ornaments.

Strong evidence of the predilection felt by the new people for good pasturage and fertile fields is contained in the situation of their graves (round and oblong barrows and Giant-chambers). Thousands of these have been destroyed in the course of time by the progress of agriculture and otherwise; but very large numbers are still in existence. They are in fact or once were spread over all the most fruitful and best portions of Denmark, both in Jutland and the isles, on the coast and inland. The more the country was con-

verted into pasture and arable land, the more numerous were the stone graves in all probability. In Jutland they are in consequence incomparably scarcer on the barren stretches of heath [3] in the midlands and in some very swampy and sandy districts on the west coast than on the other naturally richer coasts of the peninsula.

The size and considerable distribution of the stone graves show, when viewed in the aggregate, that the then ruling races, as developed as they were numerous, could not long rest content with a complete occupation of that limited portion of the most southern North, which had furnished an ample range for their altogether weaker predecessors. Coincidently with the advance on the peninsula of Jutland they had not merely spread along the south coasts of the Baltic between Mecklenburg and Pomerania about as far as the rivers Oder and Vistula, but also, as above mentioned, southwards, chiefly along the Elbe and Rhine, into the heart of Germany. But no sooner had the people in Denmark, disturbed by the eastward movement, crossed the Sound to Scania, than here too following the most fruitful regions from the coasts inland they laid the foundations for the first progressive opening out and colonisation of the great Scandinavian peninsula.

In the interior of Scania however,—not to speak of the more eastern and northern parts of the peninsula,—their way was soon barred by immovable barren rocks. The fields too in any case—in far greater degree than in the westernmost and more accessible Danish lowlands —were sown broadcast with boulders and fragments of shattered rocks. Accordingly colonisation did not as

[3] *Vide* Map.

yet extend very far from the coasts into the vast ancient forests. That Scania was colonised later on the whole than the more western Denmark is shown by the fact that the stone graves there very often assumed a somewhat different and later character. Round barrows and Giant-chambers do indeed still occur; but the massive oblong barrows west of the Sound,—which often contain several and even as many as four stone chambers,—are no longer found. In their stead appears a new and evidently later form of sepulture, namely in stone cists constructed of flat slabs and either lying exposed or covered with mounds of earth and stone.

Gradually, as the population in Scania increased, it spread steadily along the coasts eastward over Blekinge part of Smaaland and East Götland. In these districts the stone graves have a still later character than in Scania, while round barrows and Giant-chambers have everywhere disappeared in the neighbouring Öeland before the latest stone cists covered with earth or stones.

On the other hand round barrows and Giant-chambers reappear, though regularly mingled with stone-cists, north of Scania in Halland and Bohuslehn. Thence a stronger stream of population made its way along the rivers and lake sides, further up into the land to the great fertile plains in West Götland between lakes Vener and Vetter. It then probably proceeded across these lakes to Södermanland Nerike Vermeland Dalsland and Smaalehnene in Norway, that is to about 59° N. lat. North of this the last certain traces of the permanent monuments of the Stone-Age vanish.

Thus colonisation had made no slight progress northwards, since the times of the Earlier Stone-Age; though owing to great natural obstacles its advance had been slow and tardy. Beyond this limit the more northern parts of Sweden and the most of Norway continued to lie as an outer desert untouched by man or as a rule unknown and impenetrable. The whole northern zone of the Scandinavian peninsula formed indeed one single unbroken forest of pines and firs pierced only here and there by naked snow-clad mountain tops. True, even very far north—in Sweden to lat. 65° and in Norway to 68°—fresh discoveries of flint implements are continually being made, mostly along the coasts rivers and lakes. Some of these have been manufactured on the spot; others, as the form and characteristic kind of flint show, must have been introduced or at all events influenced from more southerly regions, especially Scania and the old Danish lands. Accordingly most of the stone implements in Norway are found in the east. This sudden scarcity of stone graves and other permanent monuments is doubly remarkable in rocky countries like north Sweden and Norway, where stones to build them lay everywhere near to hand. In comparison with this the occurrence of loose-lying objects—and those moreover often foreign—wholly fails to establish the existence there of a distinct branch of a Later Stone-Age dominion in the North. It is better to assume that such objects date from the actual close of the Stone-Age or from the Bronze-Age. For owing to the advance of a higher culture in the south and the steady growth of population there the descendants of

the original inhabitants as well as other less prosperous peoples were dispersed northwards. Here continuing as hunters and fishers they found a rich subsistence. Here too for want of means to procure the costly objects of metal they still used implements and weapons of stone and bone, long after bronze—and perhaps even iron to some extent—had come into use in the areas formerly occupied by the Later Stone-Age in southern Scandinavia, *i.e.*, in the old Danish lands.

From the circumstance that such stone objects are found in places high to the North—beyond lat. 61° in Sweden and Norway—we are hardly justified in concluding that, at the very time when the Stone-Age flourished in southern Scandinavia, any intercourse had then taken place between the people of the stone graves in the south and the already mentioned Finnish races in the extreme north. Nor dare we conclude that Finnish races at all at this early stage had fully immigrated from north Russia and Finland either into the nearer north-east of Sweden or into the more distant north and west of Norway. Even in Finland north Russia and the east coast-lands of the Baltic right down to the eastern boundaries of the great Stone-Age near the Oder and Vistula,—where also scattered stone objects of the latest Northern type are occasionally met with,—no proof has yet been found to demonstrate that either the local "Arctic" Age of Stone or any other Age of Stone whatever was here quite coeval with the actual development of the Northern Age of Stone.

In itself the most natural supposition is that the settlement of the rocky and forest-covered parts of north-eastern Europe owing to its remote position and

bleak climate was accomplished at a comparatively late period by a toilsome and tedious forward movement of the low-standing Lappish and Finnish peoples from Asia across the vast steppes of northern Russia. It is true that even in the Later Stone-Age larger stone graves and more highly developed objects of stone can be traced from the coasts of the Black Sea up to the south of Russia and Poland. But higher to the north—on the Baltic—no traces of such a current from the south-east have as yet been shown.

Unusually rapid as was the advance of the Later Stone-Age culture and population, who in any case most probably entered and permanently settled the Scandinavian North from the West of Europe, yet in spite of greater natural advantages it must have required not a few centuries to make its way from the southern point of Jutland up to the northern boundary of the great lakes in the Scandinavian peninsula. Hardly less than a thousand years will suffice for the duration of this age as a whole in the North, if the surprising number of large stone graves and of the contemporary antiquities are to find a satisfactory explanation. In fact it was possible not long ago to mention a number of parishes in Denmark, each containing hundreds of considerable stone graves; while in one single district of the old Danish lands, in Scania, after only brief investigations about 35,000 ancient articles of stone exhumed from the earth have been enumerated as specially derived from the Later Stone-Age.[4]

[4] O. Montelius (*Die Kult. Schwedens in Vorchristl. Zeit.*, Germ. Tr., p. 35) gives the total as about 64,000, of which more than 45,000 are

The period was long the new culture alien and its dissemination gradual over the extensive southern regions of the North. Hence besides the diversity between the stone graves east and west of the Sound still more diversities must have been evolved in earlier and later not less than in distinctly local types of monuments and antiquities. However there is as yet as little possibility in Denmark, as in Hannover and Mecklenburg or other more distant lands, of carrying out with certainty all the differentiations necessary in these respects. Nor must we forget that when at last the new culture of the Stone-Age crossed the frontiers of the North, it had elsewhere long closed its first transitional stages; it was just beginning to reach its highest pitch. For its further progress it brought with it every condition. Consequently it must have made its appearance almost everwhere in the North as actually homogeneous in form. Meanwhile comparative investigations have begun here and there to discern very significant after-traces of its final development within the limits of the North.

The stone graves, though somewhat various in size and form, otherwise agree in style of structure. Among these the round and oblong barrows are common to Denmark and the contiguous north of Germany along with several regions to the west. It is clear therefore that these—to some extent the favourite forms of graves throughout the whole of the Later Stone-Age—came in originally with the new people. Such however does not appear to

from Scania, and only 4000 from Svealand and Norrland. Of those found in Scania 40,000 are of flint, whereas in Södermanland out of 1500 objects only about 100 are of flint.

have been the case at least at first with the third and more ambitious form of sepulture, the huge and at times double Passage-buildings (*Gangbygninger*) at the basement of vast mounds of earth—the "Giant-chambers," as they are called, which often justly rouse the wonder of modern times. These colossal masses of stone (always flat on the inner surface) bear witness to a greater power of co-operation and a marvellous skill, aided only by the simple appliances of that age, in the construction of regular stone buildings. Even under the pressure of the heavy superincumbent weight of the barrow they have survived the lapse of thousands of years unshaken. Considerable sepulchral chambers of this kind covered more or less with earth and with long entrances of stone-settings have been observed everywhere in the most southern parts of the North, but have not hitherto been met with in so distinctly marked a form either in north Germany or in large tracts of western Europe till we reach the far West in Britanny and Ireland. From this we see at once that they could not have been quite coeval with the earliest current, which introduced the round and oblong barrows from north Germany into the Danish lands. They must rather have been due subsequently to a further evolution of the old grave forms in Denmark itself, though developed under continued influence from abroad.

The majority of the giant-chambers in Denmark the most imposing and the richest in contents have been discovered in the most northern parts of Jutland Fÿen the east of Seeland and on Möen Falster and Laaland, also in West Götland far to the north-east of the Scan-

dinavian peninsula, that is to say, as in west Europe, precisely in the remote regions where the Stone-Age during the later advance of the Bronze-Age from the south must have held its ground longest and approached its highest development. At all events the huge crested mounds of earth piled over the giant-chambers, in the exterior of which later sepultures have been inserted, remind us externally far more of the Bronze-Age warrior-howes (*Kaempehöie*) than of the generally lower earth-covered graves of the Stone-Age with their loose heavy stone lids. Various discoveries, hitherto not sufficiently noticed, of occasional gold and bronze articles in the larger sepulchral chambers among an otherwise preponderating number of objects of stone bone amber and clay furnish additional proof, that they date from about the commencement of the Bronze-Age, especially as such finds of gold or bronze seldom or never appear in the ordinary round and oblong barrows. We may infer therefore that the latter are usually the more ancient.

More numerous and general starting-points will be required, in order, if possible, by a comparison of the different periods of time to distinguish amidst the confusion of grave-forms which is evident in the giant-chambers of the North, not less than in western Europe. Local conditions and foreign influences may have made themselves felt in many ways. As a rule the bodies are buried unburnt. From western Europe right up to West Götland they are frequently found buried in a bent posture. In late giant-chambers of West Götland there are even small square rooms partitioned off with stone for such bent corpses. The same form of

sepulture with the bending of the bodies appears to have arisen among many peoples throughout the world from the idea that the dead should be returned like children to mother-earth in the same posture which they first occupied in their mother's womb.[5]

Meantime it is not demonstrated that this characteristic fashion of burial, which may have been retained uninterruptedly by many, especially in sequestered regions like West Götland, was more original than the burial of bodies at full length, which is almost as general, and frequently appears to have been most closely associated with the later period; since gradually during the transition from the Stone- to the Bronze-Age and particularly during the succeeding Earlier Age of Bronze it became virtually the only manner of burial prevalent. Even some of the large chambers with long entrances contain only single corpses. In others many corpses are deposited both in the chambers and entrances, at times in disorderly and thickly crowded layers. In many of the larger sepulchral chambers of Seeland Scania and West Götland these layers have consisted of nearly a hundred skeletons mingled pell-mell and so firmly packed from floor to roof, that we may reasonably conclude that common burials of numerous corpses did not take place either at one time or recurrently, but only, as it seems, after all the soft fleshy substances had been removed by the effect of the atmosphere or other means. Similar customs have at any rate been observed in the west of Europe, as well

[5] *E.g.* in Peru (Ethnogr. Mus. Copenh., case 23 *f.*): in New Britain (De Romilly, "The Western Pacific and New Guinea," p. 26): among the Chilkat Indians (Schwatka, "Along Alaska's River," p. 46).

as in other quarters of the globe. But whether they were the common graves of families and tribes or not, it is at all events obvious that such large stone chambers filled with bones necessarily presuppose a numerous population long established in the locality. They belong therefore most probably to the last period of the Later Stone-Age. Accordingly they appear most frequently in the easternmost regions of the North, which were longest occupied by the Stone-Age culture. Like the fashion of the graves, the objects deposited in them must also suggest the thought that newer ideas had then begun to penetrate the people. The other stone graves often though in various degrees contain an outfit of tools weapons and ornaments required for use in the other world. Whereas in the bone-filled giant-chambers only now and then have a few comparatively fading traces of such articles been met with, and these could in no respect have been sufficient or even intended for the use in the next world of each individual among the many dead deposited in the graves.

Similarly from the probable influence of newer ideas we must assuredly explain the circumstance that in some of the largest and evidently most recent giant-chambers we find objects of stone and pottery deliberately broken in two or damaged. With this exception the objects of stone in the Stone-Age graves have been usually laid there in new and unused condition or at all events after being fresh hewn and in part repolished.

The same development, which gradually went on in Denmark itself during the Later Stone-Age, and which we thus recognise in the giant-chambers, is also apparent, when we consider the antiquities found both in the

stone graves and outside. The forms of axes and chisels in particular, which reminds us of the west European group, are found everywhere in the localities occupied by the people of the Earlier Stone-Age and, as might be expected, most frequently in Jutland, which was again the first to be colonised from the west. But they were not used generally in any great numbers, and, as the new shapes gradually gained ground, vanished more and more in the direction of Scania. To the latest settlements further north they were brought only quite exceptionally. Towards the close of the Stone-Age the new types, specially peculiar to the north European group, of axes chisels hammers saws curved knives daggers spears arrows earthenware and amber ornaments—some of them showing remarkable progress in beauty of form—overspread the North, and not merely preponderated in numbers, but were for a great part quite different in size diversity and richness from those of the parent lands in the West.

How it was that the Stone-Age culture was able to reach such a pitch in the North, and especially in the old Danish lands, cannot be explained solely by the longer duration of the Stone-Age here or by the fertility of Denmark and its richness in excellent material for flint-work. The West of Europe also possesses much the same conditions for progressive development. The real cause lies deeper, and must rather be sought in a strong awakening stir among the people. And this too sprang from unusually active communications with other regions more to the south, where the higher culture of the Bronze-Age must gradually through its extreme branches have begun to exercise no slight influence.

For the purposes of barter and trade at this time amber offered a most suitable medium. Even to this day, though in less quantities than of old, it is gathered on the coasts of the North Sea and Baltic, particularly in Jutland and Scania. Occasionally the larger pieces also are found in excavations at a distance from the coasts. That ornaments of amber were in great demand and generally disseminated is shown by the fact that they were deliberately deposited in considerable quantities in almost all the larger at least of the stone graves in the North. Large hoards are also continually turning up in bogs, especially in Jutland. Here, as well as in Fÿen and Scania, some of these bog-finds contain amber ornaments and pieces of the new material by the hundred,—remarkable contemporaneous testimony to the existence of a lively trade in amber. The amber ornaments exhumed from the great giant-chambers in West Götland far from the sea were naturally brought from the coasts, and specially from Scania. The Danish islands doubtless received their supply from Jutland. As the amber from the coasts of Jutland spread over the interior of the peninsula itself, it speedily found its way to the regions southward, and thence along the rivers Elbe and Rhine deep into the heart of Germany and France, where the stone graves in every direction, though not so extensively as in the North, contain ornaments of amber, which are with good reason traced to the lands of the North. Jutland in fact by its convenient position on the oldest trade-routes in central Europe probably formed the first starting-point for the amber-trade between the Baltic and southern Europe; and the more so, as it

would seem that the more distant amber-producing coasts of East Prussia cannot possibly be considered as populated during the actual Age of Stone, nor can a steady trade have proceeded to more southern or western regions from a country so little known. The wider the circulation of the amber-trade from the North towards the close of the Stone-Age, and the nearer the superior Bronze-Age culture drew to the boundaries of north Germany, the more must foreign objects, *e.g.* better-woven garments finely-shaped weapons and tools of metal, not to speak of bronze and gold ornaments &c., have become known or purchased by the Stone-Age people in more northern lands. Still more remarkably was this the case after the Bronze-culture had begun to penetrate from north Germany into the southernmost districts of Denmark, while contemporaneously the Stone-Age continued to predominate in the rest of the North. This being so, it was impossible that the people of the Later Stone-Age down to its very close could themselves escape the influence of the new culture, and specially of the more highly-developed sense of the beautiful by which it was accompanied.

But until the costly foreign metal had spread more generally, people must have been obliged, as many of their axes daggers pots &c. clearly show, to confine themselves meanwhile to imitations, as far as was practicable, in the native stone bone and clay and reproductions of some of the better and finer forms of metal objects. Not that all such imitations originated solely within the actual boundaries of the Scandinavian lands. Many of them must have been developed in more southern regions, earlier exposed to contact with

the Bronze-culture; and thence the new forms spread northwards. A richer ornamentation now began to appear, especially on earthenware, the incised lines being often, as in other countries, filled with a white chalk-like substance. Representations of animals are occasionally seen on objects of bone. Upon the inner flat surface of a granite top-stone of a large stone-chamber in Seeland we may still see carved or scratched figures representing cross-divided wheels, here, as well as in the Stone-Age in the rest of Europe Asia and America, undoubtedly connected with some religious idea. The same explanation may also apply to the representations of footprints and the cup-shaped depressions which not unfrequently form distinctive marks on large stones from the Stone- and Bronze-Ages in almost all lands.

From investigations of sacred tokens in the later periods of heathenism we may conclude that the round cup-shaped depressions and circles correspond most nearly to the circular symbols of Fertility and Source of all Things which meet us almost everywhere in the marks of the chief deities, and specially in those of the goddess of love,—namely here in Scandinavia in Frey's and also in the centre of Odin's sign. In many lands at all events and in some localities even down to our own days the stones marked with such cruciform incisions have been the object of popular superstition, and it has been a custom to lay offerings in the cup-shaped hollows.

In short, if the Later Stone-Age people had not already occupied a more advanced standpoint as regards religion, they would hardly have shown such reverence

for their dead or provided them so well for the other world, as they evidently did in general, to judge by the structure and contents of the stone graves. In all of these are seen traces of fire charcoal ashes and stones rendered friable by fire; in many also not a few split and scorched bones of beasts, and sometimes even of men. Either fires must have been kindled in the graves to purify and hallow them on the occasion of various successive burials, or more probably a kind of sacrifice and burial-feast was observed; and this may possibly account for the broken bones and teeth of the animals which were eaten, especially of horses (and men?) and for the numerous remains of broken pottery. In the immediate neighbourhood of the grave chambers there are distinct traces of similar funeral banquets.

A skull exhumed from a stone grave at Naes on the island of Falster seems to point to a barbaric religious custom. The crown displays an oblong regularly formed aperture, the edges of which are ossified, proving that the individual in question must have lived for a long time after the excision was made. In corresponding stone graves in France it has been observed that it was not unfrequently the custom to cut out similar oblong or round apertures with flint knives. Pieces of the skulls of living persons, especially of children, were thus removed, partly to cure or protect them from spasms and other sicknesses, partly to give them a religious sanctity. In proof of the reverence and respect paid to people thus in fact trepanned, many finds in France show that even after their death small circular pieces of their skulls were often sawn or cut out to be carried as amulets by the survivors. Such can be clearly recog-

nised in the objects taken out of the French stone graves. In the Danish graves amulets of this kind cannot as yet be indicated with certainty. Meantime there is already extant from a stone grave in Seeland a round piece cut out of a skull, which strongly reminds us of the French amulets in question.

On the other hand among the amber ornaments deposited in the grave chambers of Denmark are an extraordinary number shaped like axes or hammers.[6] To judge by the general wide dissemination in the North of these marked forms, there is every probability that these axes had, in accordance with what has been observed in the lands of the West and South, a symbolical significance most likely associated with ideas of a mighty deity of thunder—Thor. Distinct traces of his worship show that it was also general in early times among the Finns and Celtic peoples. It is probable that the axe-shaped amber ornaments were carried in the belief that they gave protection and health to the wearer of the amulet.

In this respect it is not without significance that axes of various sizes were in the same way perforated and hung up or carried as amulets in other lands also. This was the case for instance in Greece and to the east even as far as China,[7] where they were afterwards sometimes provided with magic inscriptions. They are indeed almost all over the whole world still called by the common people "Thunderbolts" (*Tordenstene*),

[6] *Vide* "Arts," figs. 25, 26. Amber necklaces are mentioned by St. Eloi in the eighth century as among the traces of heathen superstition. —Jones, "Credulities," p. 170.

[7] And in Japan.

being supposed to have fallen in a thunderstorm or to stand in intimate association with the lightning and its effects. Long after the close of the Age of Stone people still continued in the classic South to carry small stone axes; and, as in our own days in the Scottish Highlands,[8] they retained the custom of setting antique flint arrow-heads in gold or silver, and wearing them, evidently in the belief that they would bring luck.[9] True, the Northern stone graves have failed as yet to reveal on the side walls of their chambers such carved or painted figures of axes as the stone chambers in the West and central parts of Europe have to show. Nor do the largest and finest polished flint axes in the North appear, as in west Europe, to have been found in the grave chambers. But on the other hand the largest and most beautiful stone implements occur in the North usually in conjunction with other objects likewise very rarely found or unknown in the graves, and precisely in hoard-finds, under conditions which point to a religious origin. Whole rows of uniform large flint axes curved knives scrapers &c. have been so frequently deposited under large stones in fields or bogs,—some of which were perhaps lakes at that time,—and often so evidently by design as to exclude all question of their having been accidentally lost. In the north of Jutland in one spot thirty lance or spear heads were lately picked up, all of the same kind of red flint. In north Slesvig a still greater number of flint implements was

[8] Cf. J. Anderson, "Scotland in Pagan Times (Bronze and Stone Ages)," p. 380.

[9] The belief in "lucky stones," *i.e.*, stones with a hole through, is still very common in the north of England.

found, of various forms, but especially axes, in a meadow laid in regular layers divided by sand. In other places, quite up to the north of Sweden, stone implements have been fixed with their ends down in circles of various size. More particularly has this been the case with the curved crescent-shaped knives. In this respect an extremely remarkable agreement prevails between what has been observed in the Scandinavian North and in the distant North America. Pieces of amber both manufactured and raw are frequently hoarded together in bogs, sometimes in pots, carefully surrounded with stones. In a bog in Jutland a considerable number were found encompassed by three large flint axes piled in the form of a high-pitched roof. Still less as a rule can we admit that certain kinds of stone implements or that the numerous bits of amber found under exactly the same conditions can have been merely chance-forgotten treasures. We are naturally therefore obliged to suppose that such deliberate deposits, as observed in many other lands of Europe and elsewhere, were most probably made as offerings to the gods, and thus as gifts expected to bear fruit to the benefit of the owner in this life and the next. This much in fact appears established by the experience gained from America and other quarters, that the larger hoards of superior implements weapons and ornaments, and even of the comparatively rare material of which the ornaments were made, during the Stone-Age universally represented a certain worth or fortune; much as in later times a larger or smaller portion of the metals, then strange and therefore precious in the North, whether wrought or unwrought,

constituted actual treasure for the owner or a definite sum in the ordinary traffic of the country.

A similar distinct difference between the nature of articles essentially sepulchral and the hoards of offerings found in fields bogs and lakes is also unmistakable in the succeeding Age of Bronze. It is not impossible that here again closer communications between the culture of the Stone-Age and that of the Age of Bronze will come to light.

But not to lay too great weight on such questions of the future, there are facts enough to render it more and more manifest that the Later Stone-Age people consisted of strong thickly settled well-to-do races remarkably capable of progress, who, though prepared to appropriate a new culture, could not have adopted it all at once. Just as clear must it be that such races could not at a single blow have submitted to subjugation, not to say expulsion, by a people of higher standing, even though the latter had advanced at once with all the superiority acquired by long practice in the use of improved weapons and implements of metal. It is tolerably certain that the southern North was now more clear of woods and open to strangers than before. But to balance this the population of these countries could offer a very different resistance to that which they had themselves encountered in their day, when at the time of their extension over the old Danish lands they had stood opposed to more roving weaker races, who were merely hunting and fishing savages. Be that as it may, the people of the Stone-Age could never so long have maintained an independent existence, favourable in many respects to their peculiar culture, even in

the remote sea-scattered northern regions on the Baltic, had not vast virgin tracts of mountain-lands in eastern and central Europe lain like a frontier-rampart to the south, and thus for centuries checked the Bronze-Age and people in their steady advance from Asia and the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts to the Danube-lands and the interior of Europe. The Bronze-Age can hardly have reached the old Danish lands earlier than about 1000 B.C., at which time the knowledge of iron had already begun to spread in the far more favourably situated southern and south-western parts of Europe.

Second Part.

THE BRONZE-AGE.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF THE BRONZE-AGE.

PREVIOUS to the certain records of history, the age of which varies greatly in various lands and quarters of the globe, no period of man's progress was so wide-spread so uniform and so lasting as the Age of Stone. Aided only by the simple and accessible materials, stone bone and wood, the human race was able—but very slowly and only after the lapse of thousands of years—to overspread almost the whole earth. Even to this day the last of the Stone-Age peoples have not quite vanished in very distant regions.

In the main types of implements and weapons in spite of all local differences a very striking agreement prevails even in quarters furthest from one another. This can scarcely be due to a natural instinct of man for inventing in the same universal forms the most necessary and handiest articles for his daily needs. Possibly in this he has preserved some dim memory of

a common original home, from which the human race in its earliest childhood was scattered over the earth.

Very different must have been the state of things during the succeeding period. With the knowledge and use of metals the development of a considerably higher culture became possible under favourable circumstances. Races however did not by any means universally and at once adapt themselves to such a culture, or in equal measure adopt it with the metal. But, not to dwell on this, the metals were rare and therefore costly, while trade communications between land and land were also difficult and tedious. This in itself was reason enough why neither the Bronze-Age nor in later times the pre-historic Age of Iron could gain such sway and spread as widely as the previous far more lasting Age of Stone.

We cannot speak of a real metal-period as already having begun in those places where metals occur in so easily recognisable and accessible a condition, that they have been used contemporaneously with stone and bronze for tools and weapons. Thus Eskimo races in the extreme north of America insert edgings of the so-called meteoric iron in pieces of bone; but notwithstanding they have not yet risen above the lowest level of the Stone-Age. Farther south—on the great lakes of North America—copper lies on or quite near the earth's surface, so pure that it can easily be hammered out with a stone. And so the Indians in their day over a great part of America have used objects of copper along with the ordinary objects of stone, though only, it would seem, during a later stage of the Stone-Age. In the older shell-heaps or "kitchen-middens"

on the American coasts not a vestige of copper or of any other metal has yet been brought to light. There is not a single trustworthy find to prove that man anywhere on earth in his first primeval condition at once came to the knowledge and use of metals, *e.g.* copper or iron, before or even at the same time as stone bone and wood. Quite exceptionally we may in some few places expect to meet with metal objects in deeper or older strata than stone objects. There can be no doubt that here and there civilisation has oscillated and even gone back altogether, when ruder races have succeeded in overpowering and destroying a more highly civilised people. A suggestive instance of this occurred in Greenland quite late in historical times. There the last remains of the Scandinavian colonists, who had long used iron, were overwhelmed and annihilated by the stone-using Eskimos.[1]

In any case it is clear that a great advance in the development of man had begun before the rise of the Bronze-Age, with its implements weapons and ornaments of a compound cast-metal, and ornaments also of gold. It had taken long for man to learn how to employ fire in his service; and it must naturally have

[1] Greenland was first discovered at the beginning of the tenth century by Gunbjörn from Iceland, colonised in 985 by Erik Thorvaldsön, and annexed in 1261 by Haakon Haakonsön. The Western Colony was abandoned in 1342. The Eastern Colony was harried by the Skrällings ("Puny Folk") in 1379, desolated by the Black Death early in the fourteenth century, and annihilated by the natives shortly after. The present colony dates from the settlement of Hans Egede in 1721. In the Ethnographical Museum, Copenhagen, by the courtesy of the curator Justitsraad Stenhauer the translator was enabled to inspect Eskimo stone and bone implements, evidently formed on the model of European metal objects.

been still longer ere he came to know that metals might be smelted out of ores, and particularly that copper fused with tin produces a peculiar metal—bronze—far better adapted than pure copper for casting and making edged tools and weapons. It is not impossible that in the search for ores he may occasionally have stumbled on iron ore at an early date. Iron however is not found in so pure a state naturally as copper, and is also more difficult to smelt. Copper therefore both pure and alloyed must in general have been used before iron; and this inference is distinctly confirmed by archæological observations.

The knowledge of copper and manner of hammering it out may easily have arisen coincidently in very different places, where copper was plentiful, without any intercourse between the peoples. Bronze on the other hand is an artificial metal composed by smelting about nine parts of copper with one of tin. It must therefore originally have been discovered in a land where both copper and tin were native; and from this country the new and more serviceable compound metal would gradually win recognition and wider circulation.

Nowhere in Europe,—the copper and tin mines of which appear in general to have been worked only at a comparatively late period,—can we point either to a primitive Copper-Age with articles of copper simply wrought, or to an original Bronze-Age, developed by the native inhabitants themselves, with casts of copper or bronze. Here again the facts point more and more towards the ancient culture-lands in Asia,—and to India in particular with its rich veins of copper and tin,—as in many respects the most probable starting-

point for the Bronze-culture, both in Asia and subsequently in other quarters of the globe. By the side of local distinctions in the products of the Bronze-Age we everywhere see unmistakable marks of internal similarity in their chief features. Attention has only recently been directed to the pre-historic antiquities of India; but already numerous discoveries have been observed of characteristic weapons and articles of cast-bronze in very primitive forms, sometimes collected in hoards of hundreds, with traces which show that they were cast in the locality itself, or at all events in the country. On the Sunda Islands, in Sumatra Java and Celebes, in Kambodja China and Japan, discoveries have been and are still being made of not a few axes swords spear-heads and other objects cast in bronze, the forms of which are similar, though they differ in detail. So antique are they and unknown to the present inhabitants, that they readily attribute them to a divine origin. When found in the earth they are treasured as holy relics and protecting amulets. In China they are chopped into small bits and retailed at a high price as health-giving amulets. In many places they are even ground to a powder, which is used as a medicine in cases of very dangerous illness.

East of China Japan the Sunda Islands and New Guinea (?) articles of copper or bronze have not yet been brought to light in the South Sea Islands.

Even in America there are only a few places, and those chiefly among the most highly civilised Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas of Peru, where objects of cast-metal have been met with; and these date from a comparatively recent period in the civilisation of ancient

America, and are perhaps to be regarded as products of an alien prehistoric influence from Asia.

On the other hand, north of China, in north-western Siberia remains are shown both from graves and elsewhere of a vastly more complete and comparatively distinct group of bronze articles, but closely allied to the Chinese. But to the west it disappears towards the Ural Mountains on the frontiers of Europe. Here in many places traces have been detected of the old mines worked with tools of stone and copper, as well as of ancient gold-washing by the side of rivers. But this remote north Asiatic Age of Bronze had very slight connexion with the Finns in north-western Russia and Scandinavia, and cannot be regarded as the real starting-point for the widely different superior Bronze-culture which appeared in the south of Scandinavia and in the rest of Europe.

The source of this latter must be sought in quite other streams of culture. These also took their rise in India. But as they spread, they followed the western ways, which were certainly opened during the Stone-Age, until they reached the south-eastern boundaries of Europe after traversing Syria Egypt and Asia Minor, countries in which the Bronze-culture has everywhere left its traces, at times in unusually large "cast-finds" (Stöbefund).

With the commencement of history Herodotus describes the Massagetæ[2] in these regions as a people even then acquainted only with copper and gold. They had not therefore got beyond a Copper- or Bronze-Age.

[2] Hdt. i. 201. In iii. 36 he places them east of the Caspian in the Steppes beyond the Araxes (Jaxartes or Sir Daria).

According to the latest investigations they dwelt in Afghanistan between Herat and Kabul, that is to say, on the great land-route between India and western Asia. On this same land-route also, but more to the west, in Persia, bronze weapons now begin to come to light.

The high antiquity of the bronze objects in Asia as a whole is shown by the popular belief in Persia the Sunda Islands and many other places that they have fallen from heaven in thunderstorms. Traces of a corresponding ancient superstition about the sanctity and venerableness of bronze objects are also found among the Assyrians Jews[3] Greeks and Romans.[4] In the erection of temples, as in the celebration of solemn ceremonies, only bronze might be used. Moreover historians inform us that, just as now in the temples of Japan, in Greek temples various sacred objects of bronze were displayed as having belonged to the goddess Athene or some of the most famous mythical heroes.

Naturally many separate objects of metal—the forerunners of the new culture—would be introduced both by peaceful and hostile inroads among the Stone-Age peoples of southern Europe. Long intercourse with the neighbouring and far more highly civilised races living in Asia and Egypt must also have influenced them in various ways. Already they had attained a considerable development in the regions immediately bordering on Asia, *e.g.* in Greece, where metals lay to hand. They would infallibly therefore soon take to casting bronze articles of their own, copies partly of the

[3] Exod. xxviii. &c. [4] *e.g.* the ancilia.

foreign models, partly of the indigenous forms previously used in objects of stone and bone.

But along with such gradual transitions new immigrations of metal-using races from Asia most probably laid the real foundations for the general spread of the higher Bronze-culture as well as for the colonisation of central Europe on a scale heretofore unknown. Contemporaneously with the new culture an entirely new fashion of burial—cremation—made its first appearance in Europe. Everywhere, so to say, it gradually expelled the custom of interring corpses. This is an additional indication of the fresh growth of population following steadily in the wake of the Bronze-culture, as it advanced by different routes from those pursued by the culture and form of burial characteristic of the preceding Age of Stone.

Comparatively few remains of the Bronze-Age have, it is true, been as yet observed in the vast tracts of Asia, and these intrinsically are somewhat various in kind. But the number is steadily increasing, and already it is evident that they fall into numerous groups. From this it is evident that the Bronze-culture cannot have continued exclusively to be the characteristic of a single people, which supplied the whole of Asia with articles of bronze.

In Europe also the Bronze-culture presents itself in groups. So wide-spread and diversified was it, that here too it must have been a common possession of many tribes standing on pretty much the same level of civilisation, though, as in Asia, at very various times. It is even probable that the Bronze-Age in the south-east of Europe was originally founded by immigrations

from Asia, not merely of one and the same race, but of various races, each with its own special taste and general development. Otherwise it is not easy to explain how the strongly marked differences between the Bronze-Age of south and central Europe can from the very first have arisen.[5] About 1000 B.C. iron, as before mentioned, began to be known and used in Greece and other regions in the extreme south of Europe. We may therefore provisionally place the introduction of the Bronze-Age into the lands on the Black Sea and Mediterranean several centuries earlier.

Steadily flowing in from Asia the new stream of the Bronze-Age culture and peoples appears to have poured over Europe chiefly by two main routes. The southern followed the coast-lands previously settled by the peoples of the Stone-Age, that is to say, first Greece and then the southern portion of the Italian peninsula, countries which are closely related in the nature of the bronze objects found in them. From this point the current in after-times evidently set westward along the north and south shores of the Mediterranean to Africa Spain and France to some extent; also northwards, though but feebly, to the British Isles. The other branch diverged more to the north from the Black Sea along the basin of the Danube into the heart of Europe.

[5] And yet Dennis ("Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria") quotes our author among other distinguished archæologists in support of the assertion that "antiquarians are now generally agreed that all the ancient bronzes found in various lands north of the Alps, from Switzerland to Denmark and from Ireland to Hungary and Wallachia, are of Etruscan origin." Could evidence be more grossly misrepresented?

In this direction, to judge from the scant remains of the Stone-Age, especially to the east in Hungary, no very widely diffused or powerful population was to be found in earlier times; while the rich metal-producing mountains with other natural advantages were highly favourable to the settlement and development of the Bronze-culture.

These currents, at first divided, must in later times have approached and touched one another in their course from Greece over Hungary and from south Italy across north Italy Switzerland and south-western Germany. Accordingly the southern types of bronze articles, though in decreasing numbers, may be recognised in central Europe. Conversely the central-European types appear in the north of Italy and France, and, far more extensively than the earlier Italian types, over the entire British Isles.

Hitherto central Europe, covered with mountain chains, especially to the south and north, had been but thinly colonised. In such a region the Bronze-culture had evidently freer scope to evolve all its peculiarities. In more southern and western lands the form of its development was different. There it had to struggle with an earlier and comparatively no mean Stone-Age culture: it was confronted by a numerous population, which was strong enough to maintain a prolonged defence against the unexpected and in many respects menacing innovation, and which cannot have been ousted without a trace.

This accounts for the rise of a very distinctly stamped Bronze-Age in Hungary, where the latest immigrants must have settled down. Its ornaments were of gold,

its utensils of cast-bronze and also of pure copper, where tin was difficult to obtain.

But beyond this and farther to the west of central Europe the Age of Bronze among other races, especially on the Danube in modern Austria and south Germany, by degrees began to show greater independence and richness of development. In connexion with the local forms peculiar to central Europe large and widely scattered cast-finds furnish indisputable evidence that the objects of bronze found there were for the most part produced in the countries themselves,—as one might expect in districts so rich in metals,—and were not as a rule imported from foreign manufactories, *e.g.* from Greece and Italy, where, it is true, a very considerable industrial activity and skill was evidently developed in the Bronze-Age.

In spite of the apparent differences in many details between the remains of the Bronze-Age in Hungary and south Germany it is significant of the whole central-European group, in comparison with the southern group in Greece and south Italy, that the bronze swords are unusually long and, more particularly, provided with peculiar richly decorated hilts, which are also of cast-bronze. To judge by the frequent appearance of these swords and other arms, the people of the Bronze-Age cannot have confined themselves exclusively to peaceful pursuits, such as agriculture cattle-breeding mining and metal-work, which supplied their daily bread. They must also have been well-equipped and trained warriors.

No wonder then that the plains shut in by the woody mountain ranges of central Europe should for

ages have secured them an independent existence and development, and that they subsequently spread their culture and even their dominion in various directions, southwards over Switzerland and perhaps over north Italy, westwards along the Rhone and Rhine to a part of France long ago occupied by the Stone-Age people, and so at last gradually even to the remoter British Isles and Scandinavian North.

A comparison of the finds in central and north Europe, so far as they are yet known, both as regards articles of antiquity and large monuments, tends clearly to demonstrate that the earliest or at all events the most powerful movements northwards cannot have issued from Hungary in a direct line over the Carpathians: still less did they follow a more eastern route. Only at a later date—and then to no great extent—did the Bronze-culture make itself felt to the east in Poland and south Russia. The north-eastern parts of Germany, which would have to be traversed by such a movement, do not appear to have been wholly cleared or thickly peopled at that time.

The first northward movement of importance evidently had its source in south-western Germany, in the districts between the Danube Elbe and Rhine. Thence, chiefly along these rivers and the routes already opened and more generally known from the northern amber-trade, it slowly advanced developing its characteristic traits on the way, till it reached the Stone-Age peoples settled in the far North, whose sway here had hitherto been unchallenged.

The direct cause of this movement is certainly to be sought in a steady advance of new races, or at all

events in a steady growth of over-population to the south. Not that the advance was necessarily simultaneous and undertaken by hordes of peoples in full force. Just as likely is it in many places at least that the way it gradually followed had been prepared by peaceful intercourse. But vast forests were still to be opened up or felled, much land would have to be tilled, ere entire races of immigrants with their women children cattle &c. could spread from south to north like an overwhelming deluge, and everywhere find sufficient maintenance. Even if a great wave of peoples swept into Europe from Asia during the Age of Bronze, the tide must already have spent its force in crossing the then thinly populated east of central Europe. On its way to the west and north-west of Europe, where the Stone-Age peoples were firmly settled, it would, as in southern Europe, have many obstacles to encounter. Naturally therefore it would not spread in the same manner as in the middle of Europe.

Meantime the graves in the south-west and north-west of Europe give striking illustrations of intercourse and minglings between the Stone- and Bronze-Age peoples. Not a few of the large stone graves, otherwise peculiar to the Age of Stone, contain for instance a variety of bronze articles, especially ornaments, with skeletons of bodies, some of them interred in the old way in a bent posture and others burnt. Nay, it would even seem that the Bronze-peoples, after invading the old dominions of the Stone-Age to the north-west, began in evident imitation of the old colossal graves in the country to erect more and larger sepulchres cists and mounds than are found in central Europe. More-

over the old Stone-Age fashion of burying the corpse unburnt continued in the Bronze-Age too for a long time beside or even in preference to the new fashion of cremation.

Thus after a steady advance from south-western Germany the Bronze-Age with its culture and peoples had traversed Hannover and Mecklenburg, and at last penetrated the northern frontiers of the Scandinavian North. Long before this it had reached a very considerable pitch of development. This is proved by the finds from the oldest graves of the Bronze-period. In the far North, even more than in the adjacent north of Germany, was this civilisation, so entirely foreign in origin, destined, like the earlier civilisation of the Stone-Age, to find in its closing period one of its last sanctuaries in Europe. Here during the growth of the Iron-Age in more southern lands it was enabled in peace to spread and multiply with a fulness and richness of development hardly surpassed elsewhere except perhaps in Greece alone.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLIER BRONZE-AGE IN THE NORTH.

In most of the lands the Bronze-culture had as yet subdued in the course of its long and toilsome wandering from Asia, its introduction and existence had been facilitated either by metal in the mountains or gold in the rivers or at all events by access to bronze and gold at no great distance. But in the remote Scandinavian North it now entered regions where the necessary metals could be obtained only with great difficulty. The old Danish lands conceal, as we know, neither copper tin nor gold in their bosom. The rich copper-mines in the mountains of Norway and Sweden lay like hidden treasures not merely throughout the whole Bronze-Age but for many centuries afterwards. But the Bronze-culture must have obtained a firm footing both in northern Europe and on the British Isles, before a steady traffic to supply the want of tin could have been opened between the south-west of England and the Northern lands. But neither from England nor still less from the more distant mines of Ireland, where copper was first discovered at a later date, could copper or bronze at that time have been brought direct to the North. Even at the time of Christ's birth it is related of the Britons themselves that they had not much iron, but

"used imported copper."[1] To the east of Scandinavia, it is true, there was rich store both of copper and gold in the mines of the Ural Mountains between Asia and Europe, and these mines were known in early times. But during the earliest Bronze-Age, if not later, vast tracts of pathless uninhabited desert still intervened to prevent any intercourse with those regions, and it was only at a later date that steady communications became possible.[2]

For a long time therefore during the Bronze-Age, until new trade connexions could be established, the North was reduced to procure its bronze and gold by the same routes that the Bronze-culture had first followed, namely along the old tracks of the Jutland amber-trade through western Germany. These metals, owing to the distance they were carried, must have been very costly in the far North. Furs and cattle alone would not suffice as a medium of barter with the nearest neighbours to the south, tribes somewhat similarly situated and commanding the carrying trade. There can scarcely therefore be any doubt that it was with amber, which was rising in value in the South, that the inhabitants of the North purchased their bronze and gold. The remarkable scarcity of amber ornaments in the Bronze-Age finds of the North, when compared with the numerous large amber-troves found in graves and bogs from the preceding Stone-Age, is significant

[1] Cæs. B. G. v. 15.

[2] The author formerly was disposed to accept the view that some of the Bronze-Age metal (found in Mecklenburg) came from the Ural Mountains—v. Slesvigs Oldtidsminder p. 44. All Danish archæologists are now agreed in tracing the Bronze-Age of the North to the Danube-countries.

of the great increase in the exportation of amber. In our own days the American Indians have instead of money used shells of a particular kind, and more especially oblong beads cut out of them and pierced, their worth being estimated proportionally to the difficulty of manufacture. In the same way amber in the North, and particularly the long and narrow beads frequently found here, being difficult to pierce, served, it would seem, as a medium of exchange or money, varying greatly in worth according to the size and workmanship.

But neither the profitable amber-trade nor even a fresh influx of population well provided with bronze and gold suffices to explain the surprising wealth of metal which continued throughout the Bronze-Age to prevail in the old Danish lands, so poor in metal naturally. It is easier to understand this, if we suppose—what indeed remains to be proved—that the raising of crops more extensively and on improved methods in the fertile coast-lands of the Baltic, with the prosperity that ensued in consequence, had also its share in providing means to obtain the foreign metals. Bronze and gold articles turn up everywhere in the southern parts of the North not merely in thousands upon thousands of graves but also under large stones afield and in marshes, or what were then lakes. So numerous are these various objects, often of unusual value and deposited with such evident intention, that we may reasonably wonder how the people after depositing such wealth could still afford to purchase weapons utensils and ornaments enough for daily use. Quite exceptionally, and only towards the very end of the Bronze-Age,

do they appear to have contented themselves with depositing in the graves miniature swords[3] daggers celts and lance-heads as a kind of votive offering.

In taking a more comprehensive view of the wealth of the North in bronze objects, especially in comparison with most other lands of Europe, we ought not to overlook the fact that the Bronze-Age, though it reached the North so late, that it was on the eve of disappearing in the far South on the Mediterranean, undoubtedly continued for long in rare and undisturbed seclusion on the distant Baltic. Recent research has in all essentials demonstrated that at this time the oldest current of culture northwards through western Germany was afterwards joined by another, closely allied to it and flowing in more eastern channels. This latter aided further to diffuse and establish the Bronze-culture in the lands both south and north of the Baltic. Owing chiefly to the want of sufficient information respecting finds, to guide us, it has not yet been possible in every detail, and more particularly according to the style of the bronze objects, to divide these currents between an earlier and a later period. More than in the previous Stone-Age are the burial customs and antiquities intermingled in consequence of more gradual transitions from one period to another. Examples adduced from the later history of Scandinavia will serve to illustrate the tenacity with which the inhabitants of the North, especially in outlying districts, adhered to antiquated forms and ornaments elsewhere long obsolete. At no point in the pre-history of the North, not even after the lands were opened cleared and

[3] *Vide* figs. 198–201 in Fräulein Mestorf's Alterthümer aus Schlesw.-Holst.

settled, can we in short speak of sharp gradations in the slow and steady progress of culture from south to north.

None the less there are already very good grounds for beginning to distinguish between the main features of the Northern Bronze-Age in earlier and later times. We have seen from numerous graves here that the Age of Stone preceded that of Bronze: many mounds invariably contain skeletons with Stone-Age objects buried at the basement in peculiar graves; while in the sides and summit we find burnt bodies—more rarely skeletons—with objects of bronze. Similarly in the case of the Bronze-Age mounds: just as many throughout large tracts in the southern and western parts of the North have been found to cover skeletons with bronze objects of a peculiar fashion in larger and older graves below; while burnt bodies have been buried above in smaller and more recent graves along with bronze objects evidently of a somewhat different kind. The reverse has never been observed. Nor are the contents of such mounds, when various, ever confused, but always laid in regular definite positions. We have therefore full reason for concluding that the period of the Bronze-Age in which the bodies were still at least generally buried, as in the Stone-Age, namely unburnt, must have been the oldest and nearest to the Stone-Age. And this was also the case in more southern lands, especially in north Germany and England.

In its progress from the south-east through the interior of Europe the Bronze-Age, fertilising wherever it penetrated, had followed an entirely new route. But, as in the advance of the Stone-Age previously along the coast from the west, the peninsula of Jutland *must again* have been the first to feel its effects most

seriously. Here therefore, just as we might expect, we find large numbers of the oldest antiquities and graves of the Bronze-Age. In the more eastern parts of Denmark they are scarcer. They also present a striking agreement with the forms of the corresponding antiquities and graves in the adjacent north of Germany; from which again we may follow the points of resemblance further south. The oldest bronze swords in western Denmark are thus of the self-same kind as the bronze swords found in western Germany right down to the Alps. Moreover the original sepulchres in the base of the "warrior-howes" in Jutland are usually either large cists of stones set up on end and covered with slabs, or heavy oak trunks split and hollowed out; and in these the unburnt bodies of men women and children were deposited fully clothed—some of them in woollen garments skilfully woven—and with a rich supply of weapons utensils and ornaments.[4] These coffins of hollowed oaks in particular, each containing a single skeleton, extend north-west from Germany to England. In still more considerable numbers they are spread due north across Jutland,—contemporaneous evidence that mighty trees or forests of oak were once indigenous to the country. They are also occasionally recognised in the east of Denmark and in the more southern parts of the North. The oldest skeleton-graves from the Bronze-Age, which generally form a regular substratum for graves containing burnt bodies, consist mostly of circles or cists built of stones, which vary in size and are sometimes covered with planks. In a few cases the corpse appears to have been laid in a cist of planks. Immediately over the cists

[4] *See fig. 1, p. 73*; and *cf.* figs. 2 and 3, pp. 89, 91.

there is usually a heap of stones surmounted by a huge pile of earth, or in stony districts, *e.g.* in Bornholm and the Scandinavian peninsula, with a cairn of stones called a Steenrös or Steenrör (=stone-heap).

Various finds in Denmark may possibly indicate that during the Earlier Bronze-Age the custom of cremation was to some extent soon adopted, and perhaps not very long after the introduction of interment. But this was chiefly in the east. So far it is clear that the most the largest and the best provided graves—evidently the resting-places of the most powerful families—from the very first generally contained unburnt bodies. They are spread over wide tracts throughout the whole of southern Scandinavia, to the same extent in fact as the graves of the previous Stone-Age. Like these they are found on the Scandinavian peninsula as far north as latitude 59°. Further north in Sweden and throughout Norway the Early Bronze-Age has left no sure traces in the form of graves or other large monuments, excepting here and there on the west coast of Norway, particularly on the plain of Jaederen,[5] whither some few emigrants from Jutland appear to have made their way, but not till about the close of the Early Bronze-Age in Denmark.

On the other hand the advance of the Bronze-Age to the great lakes of Sweden, in connection with the contemporaneous increase of population, must have driven the first wandering inhabitants, whose only implements were of stone, to retreat further northwards, spreading thinly over the long rocky sea-boards of

[5] Jaederen, the only large coast plain of Norway, about 18 English *miles south* of Stavanger. From Jutland to the nearest point of Norway *is about* 70 English miles, to Ekersund about 125.

Sweden and Norway. There they finally settled in the neighbourhood of the tribes of Lapps or Finns who had immigrated from the east across Finland to the northern parts of Scandinavia. These latter seem at that time to have been scattered fairly far down over the coasts of Sweden and Norway southwards. They are now driven back to the extreme north.

More than a thousand years must thus have passed, ere the Scandinavian North was girdled, so to say, by a continuous chain of population. But many centuries of hardships and struggles were yet needed, to enable the settlements in Sweden and Norway to become as extensive and important, as those of the more southern regions long had been in the richer lowlands on the Cattegat and Baltic.

Yet the Bronze-culture must have spread itself in the far North more rapidly, in comparison, than any previous current. Intercourse was considerably aided not merely by extensive settlements and fresh trade-communications: the highly developed people of the Stone-Age, who had as yet formed the dominant race, had, so far as circumstances allowed, reached a high degree of development. The richer and less prejudiced, attracted by the better and handsomer utensils weapons and ornaments of bronze and gold, must soon have sought to share in other unmistakable benefits of the new culture. For such natural transitions the ground had already been prepared by the influences which the Bronze-culture previous to its last sweeping advance had brought to bear on the higher development of the Northern Age of Stone. And as the practice of burying corpses unburnt remained long and extensively a custom *common to* both periods, there was in this

respect nothing to hinder the people of the Stone-Age from finally and fully adopting the Bronze-culture and accommodating themselves to the other changes inevitable in the old order of things.

But though the people of the Stone-Age may presumably have adopted the foreign culture in this manner, we have also weighty proofs that in the North, as in the neighbouring lands south and west, a strong fusion of peoples must have been going on coincidently with the extension of the Bronze-culture. The differences for instance between the surviving monuments of the Stone and Early Bronze Ages could not in general have stood out so sudden and sharp, as is actually the case, had only a gradual transition pure and simple taken place. True, the Bronze-culture, long ere it reached the North, had undoubtedly adopted the old Stone-Age custom of interring the dead unburnt. But in the North, as in the adjacent countries, this custom makes its appearance from the very beginning of the Bronze-Age in connexion with wholly new forms of burial. Marvellous must have been the rapidity with which the building of round and oblong mounds and giant-chambers must have come to a stand-still, wherever the Bronze-culture succeeded in establishing its empire. Traces of a continued employment of the old large stone chambers ready to hand are far from being so numerous as one might reasonably have expected. A remarkable change was also effected in the manner of burial itself: in consequence of the now general use of cists, the custom prevalent at the close of the Stone-Age of burying several and even many bodies in the same chamber may now be said to have ceased entirely. *Hereafter* it was quite the exception to lay several

corpses in a single cist. As a rule each corpse had its own grave or its own cist. But many single graves of this kind were frequently constructed in the same barrow. In general however we must remember that here, as in all other periods of antiquity, the vast majority of those sepulchres which have been preserved to our days belonged to the more prosperous classes: the simpler graves of the lower orders have mostly disappeared.

Similar prominent differences appear both in the contents of the graves and other antiquities dating from the Later Stone-Age and following Age of Bronze. Finds distinctly indicating a fusion or transition are on the whole remarkably rare. The comparatively few implements of stone which are brought to light in the larger burial-places of the Bronze-Age are confined to certain articles intended for special use. They betray a declining skill—or care perhaps—in stone work, the more metal work became diffused. Add to this the fact that neither in the southern parts of the North nor in north Germany during the Early Bronze-Age did men content themselves with the foreign goods imported from the South, or with simply continuing slavishly to imitate them. On the model of the foreign types whole series of new tasteful and richly ornamented forms were gradually developed. Many cast-finds, some of them large, prove that these articles were usually manufactured within the boundaries of the North itself. Contemporaneously with the decline and expulsion of the Bronze-Age in the South, in Greece and Italy, which still lay outside the pale of all direct connection with the countries of the North, a peculiar later group of bronze objects arose on the Baltic,

entirely unlike the fashions of western southern and eastern Europe, or even those of the parent-lands in central Europe. That a bronze industry in north Europe, in regions so remote, could attain such a pitch of excellence on its own lines of development, as evidently to surpass other more favoured lands, is in itself sufficient to show with a probability bordering on certainty that the Stone-Age people, to be capable of such progress, must have been strongly mingled with new peoples, who had long known how to procure and manufacture both bronze and gold. Moreover as the largest mounds, evidently erected originally for the most powerful chieftain families, contain from the very oldest times vast numbers of swords daggers lance-heads and other arms, and as even what were certainly the graves of females with remarkable frequency contain daggers, we shall not be far wrong in assuming that the new immigrants in the Bronze-Age belonged chiefly, as in more southern regions, to warlike well-equipped races, which with their superior arms and higher refinement in general—though not without a long stubborn struggle—made themselves masters in the southern parts of the North. As regards the earlier people, who still formed the bulk of the population and long continued to use stone, it was the task of these new races gradually to pave the way for that revolution in earthly and spiritual spheres which accompanied the higher culture and accumulation of large estates in the hands of single powerful chieftains. Not however till the Later Bronze-Age were they in a condition to destroy the last remains of the primitive state of things maintained with such stubbornness in *remoter* regions of the North.

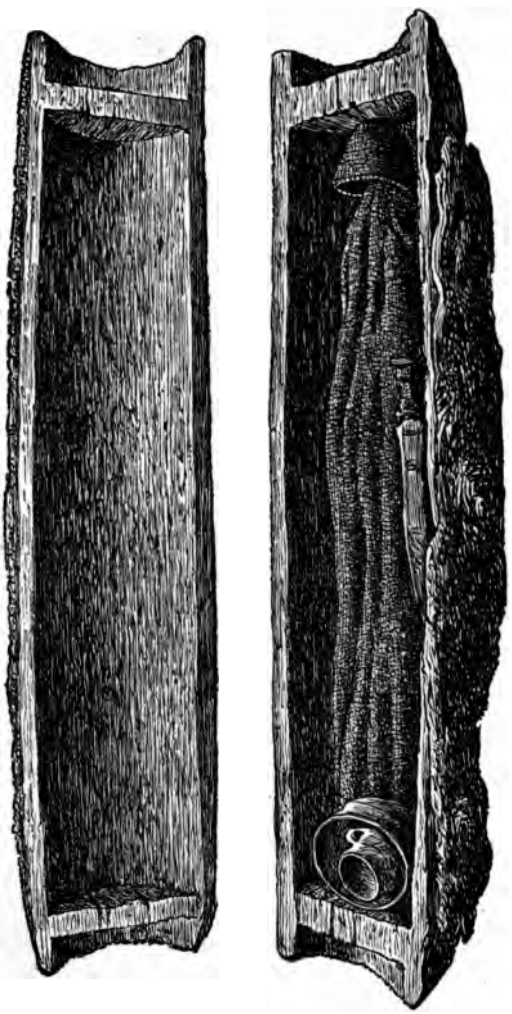

FIG. 1.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LATER BRONZE-AGE IN THE NORTH.

THE more the Bronze-Age culture and people expanded over the former domains of the Stone-Age people, the wider grew the gap in the old communications with the countries of the West, which till now had been of such importance for the first colonisation and early development of culture in the North. The new influences struck out a road of their own along the Rhine and other rivers of France from north Italy and the south-westernmost parts of Europe. Communications with central Europe now followed a more easterly direction. Owing to this the Bronze-culture in France Belgium and the British Isles assumed a somewhat different form from that in the North. Slight as was the distance between Britain and Denmark, there are but faint traces of any direct intercourse between the West and North at this period. Differences in the main preponderate. There are however some signs of internal similarity in the forms of bronze objects, showing plainly that they originated in some common or nearly related starting-points in south and central Europe. But already in early times the two main culture-streams flowing west and north had branched off far to the south.

The western countries, unlike the North, have preserved more the character of older and to some extent south-Italian forms. In no sense did the independent development of the Bronze-culture reach such a height in these countries as in the Baltic regions. The most obvious reason for this must lie in the fact that the West derived no special advantage from the further development attained by the Bronze-culture in its wanderings from central Europe northwards. In short the sources of the older west-European Bronze-culture, namely in Italy and the adjacent parts of south and central Europe, were comparatively soon dried up by the early introduction of Iron.

Meanwhile in the Scandinavian North the Bronze-Age even after its decline in the mother-lands of western Central Europe could still in part by more easterly routes draw strength and nourishment from intercourse with regions, where a Bronze-culture, though under somewhat different forms, still continued to hold more undisturbed sway. In distant Scandinavia the Age of Bronze on the whole must evidently have lasted longer than in England, and many centuries longer than in France, especially the south-eastern parts of France nearest to Switzerland and Italy.

The Iron-Age was founded in Italy and Greece at least a thousand years B.C. Under its influence the Iron-culture in the south of France as well as in the south of central Europe must have been in full swing, while the Bronze-Age (from about 500 B.C. till near the birth of Christ) under remarkably kindred conditions was still absolute in the Baltic countries.

Even in the early Bronze-Age it is vain to seek for

bronzes stamped with the special characteristics of the Mediterranean countries. Still less therefore may we inquire whether a new fertilising current of Bronze-culture entered the high North during the Later Bronze-Age by more direct communications with Greece and Italy.

From these latter countries the Bronze-Age had long been entirely expelled. It was succeeded first by a pre-classic and then the classic Iron-culture, which spread steadily in various directions.

On the other hand there are some signs that the Graeco-Italian Bronze-culture before its final decay and even the pre-classic Iron-culture at its commencement may have stood in connexion with and influenced the last of the Bronze-Age in central Europe, which in consequence necessarily developed a somewhat peculiar style of its own in forms and ornaments.

Thence this style travelled northwards in company with the last remains of the Bronze-culture; and long after the fall of the Bronze-Age in the motherlands of central Europe it became the foundation of that peculiar taste which marked the close of the Bronze-Age on the Baltic.

Future investigations however must finally decide whether the likeness between the later bronzes of central Europe and north Italy in their most salient features may not also have been due to a counter-movement, that is from central Europe across the north of Italy, where races from the north have recently been supposed to have settled.

Owing to the great difficulty of smelting iron it was more expensive than copper or bronze in olden times,

and must at first have been very dear in the far North, the excellent native iron ores being then still unknown. Be that as it may, it is certain that the old culture of the Bronze-Age could not possibly have been preserved in the north German plain and in the Scandinavian North with a breadth purity and individuality of development so far surpassing that of central and south Europe, where iron came into use much earlier, had the previous lively communications on both sides not been at one stroke broken off by violent commotions among the peoples in the interior of Europe. Otherwise the same trade-routes which so long had brought bronze and gold from the south would also in early times have served to bring iron and iron products in larger quantities to the Baltic coasts. So remarkable an interruption seems even to presuppose a condition of open hostilities between the evidently warlike bronze-using peoples of the North and the iron-using peoples in central Europe. It was precisely in the regions of the upper Rhine, according to the testimony of history, that several centuries before Christ various forward movements and shiftings of the Gauls Germans and other tribes took place. The result was natural: some at least of the older races, who had immigrated during the Bronze-Age, must have been isolated or driven out of their old settlements, especially where these lay on the great highway of nations from the East in Hungary and Austria: some would turn their steps southwards, *e.g.* to north Italy: others retreated north across the Carpathians and mountains of Moravia and Bohemia to the north German plain lying mostly east of the boundaries of the stone graves on the Oder and as

yet but thinly peopled. Here in complete isolation, behind a rampart of forest-covered mountains, they were henceforth reduced to carry on by themselves and develop the national Bronze-culture they brought with them. Here too both to west and east they found neighbours still in the Bronze-Age on much the same level of civilisation, and in origin belonging to the same great family of nations. Under such circumstances a closer intercourse and even blending of peoples could hardly fail to ensue.

It is not yet decided at what time this eastern current from Austria and Hungary first began to set northwards. Possibly it was in motion contemporaneously with the western current. In itself there was nothing to prevent its first and furthest ramifications from reaching the south-eastern borders of the Scandinavian North at a time when the Stone-Age in these remoter regions was not yet wholly expelled. But encountering far more obstacles than the western stream in its advance, with mountain-chains vast morasses forests and deserts to cross, its progress was much slower to the south-coasts of the Baltic. To the east it was soon lost in the present Baltic Provinces of Russia.[1] Still later, doubtless again under increased pressure from the south, it seems to have broadened and spread further north across the Baltic to Scandinavia. The fusion of the earlier western and later eastern current, which began of course in Mecklenburg and Hannover, and was continued in the higher North, probably occurred about 500 B.C. From this time onwards the last relics of the Bronze-culture of central

[1] Esthonia Livonia and Kurland.

Europe evidently remained for centuries crowded into the lands north and south of the Baltic.

There can hardly be any real doubt that it was specially this more eastern movement of culture and peoples, which in the course of a slow but steady advance at last brought about the general adoption of cremation in the North. Among other proofs it has left its mark in the warrior-howes already mentioned, containing burnt bodies in the smaller graves above, and unburnt bodies in the larger tombs at the bottom of the barrow. In contrast with the west of Germany, where graves containing skeletons from the Bronze-Age frequently occur, the graves in the east of Germany, especially beyond the old eastern boundaries of the Stone-Age towards the Oder or somewhat beyond it, almost exclusively contain burnt bodies. As in the North, the barrows in eastern and north Germany now often contain a number of funeral urns with burnt bones and ashes deposited at various times in the same mound.

Not less remarkable is the contrast presented by western Germany and the country east. Besides the grave-finds large hoards of bronze objects have been discovered in hitherto unexampled quantities from Austria and Hungary across the North German plain. They are found in fields lakes and bogs, and were clearly enough deposited intentionally. This custom likewise recurs in the Scandinavian North, especially during the Later Bronze-Age. Here in all parts—but more particularly to the east—we find numerous objects of bronze, new in form and peculiar in ornamentation. Either they were actually imported from Austria and

Hungary, or else copies were made in north Germany and the north after unmistakable models from the southern countries. This style, originally eastern in technique and beauty of form, reached almost as high a standpoint as the older western style, with which it must have been largely mixed in the North. But various circumstances indicate that in the Northern lands towards the close of the Bronze-Age taste had at least in some points lost much of its earlier simplicity and purity.

Numerous moulds metal "tags" and large "cast-finds," (Stöbefund),[2] as they are called, throughout Denmark, are irresistible evidence for the general spread of native manufactures in bronze and gold. These again may be recognised in whole series of peculiar Northern and north-European forms of weapons utensils and ornaments, which do not appear in other parts of Europe.

By degrees, as the Iron-culture moved on from central Europe northwards, the native manufacture of bronze in the North must have largely increased; while the importation of foreign objects of bronze, even from north Germany, into the old Danish lands fell off more and more. During the long continuance of the Bronze-Age with the steady flow of population from south to north both in the earlier and later periods skill in metal-working had on the whole risen to a considerable height. The complete casting and polishing of horns (Lurer)[3] for instance and of large ceremonial axes—fashioned of thin elegantly orna-

[2] The Author's "Danish Arts," figs. 103-5. J. M., fig. 208.

[3] *Vide* "Arts," figs. 113, 114.

mented plates cast on thick clay cores, still to be found in them, the finely cast or embossed ornaments,

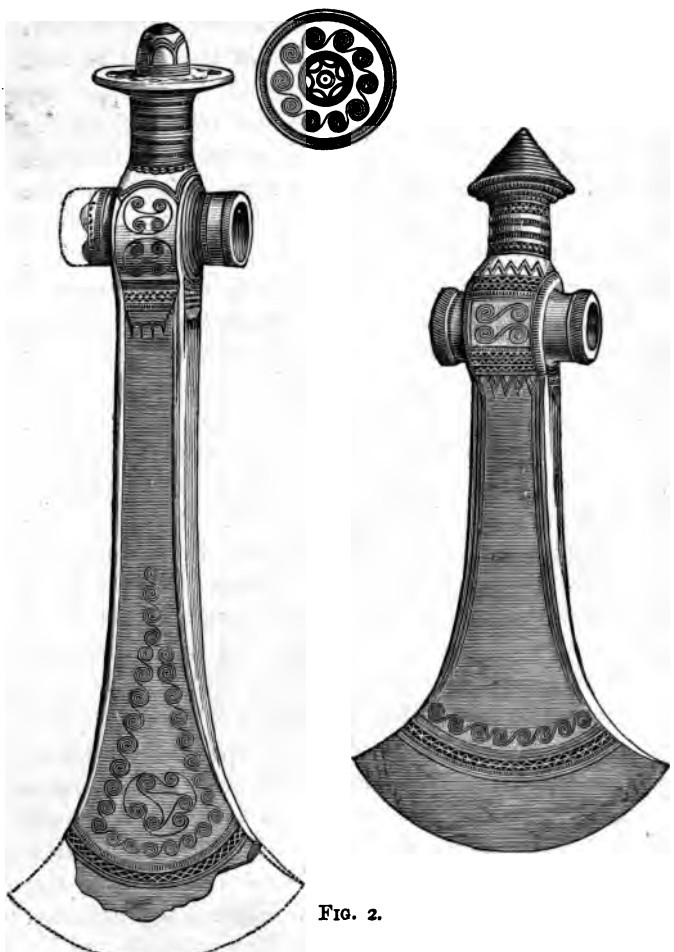

FIG. 2.

the tasteful inlaid work of native amber or of a peculiar

black resin, these must win our admiration all the more, as the manufactures of the period, excepting of course during the final transition to the Iron-Age, were indisputably carried on without the help of iron or steel tools.

On the other hand down to the very end of the Bronze-Age nothing was known of soldering and gilding in fire. Instead of this it was usual to employ thin sheets of gold-plating.

Contrasted with the elegant forms and decoration, whether the older spiral or later ring and wave ornaments, there is an evident awkwardness in pictorial representations, which were first used to any great extent during the Later Bronze-Age both on movables and monuments. In the North, as one might expect, they occur first in the old Danish lands, where already at the close of the Stone-Age feeble attempts had been made at such pictorial ornamentations. That they were connected with the eastern current is significantly shown by the fact that they occur most numerously in Scania or the eastern districts of Denmark, and especially northwards on the Scandinavian peninsula. On large stones in graves and on exposed "Heller" or natural rock-surfaces they here form the Helleristninger or rock-sculptures, as they are called, whole series of pictures manifestly referring to the daily struggle and ordinary round of life as well as to higher religious ideas. This picture-writing, which along with other monuments from the Later Bronze-Age followed the evident spread of population far beyond the northern boundaries of the Bronze-Age right up to north Sweden and Norway, is of double importance; since, with this

exception, we have hitherto failed to discover any contemporary writing and inscriptions whatever on objects small or great from the Age of Bronze proper either in the North or in other lands of Europe. On the other hand inscriptions appear on bronze weapons from the old Culture-lands Egypt Assyria and China, dating back to the years 1500–1300 B.C. Several of these inscriptions however may, like similar inscriptions on Greek and Italian bronzes, be of a comparatively late period, since such bronze articles were employed not so much for daily use as for votive offerings or gifts of sacrifice to the gods.

The Northern rock-sculptures, viewed in connection with a few barrows or stone-cairns (Steenrör) containing burnt bodies and bronzes, and also some scattered finds of bronze objects pointing to the latest eastern and occasionally pure Hungarian forms, and sometimes containing traces of a new metal, zinc, clearly suggest a somewhat more permanent settlement from the south of the distant wilds of northern Sweden.

The same is also true of the south and west of Norway. Owing to its situation on the Atlantic it was more accessible and milder in climate.

About the close of the Bronze-Age these forms must have reached in Sweden to Norrland, or lat. 62°, and in Norway beyond Throndhjem to about lat. 66° N.,— that is, in Sweden three and in Norway seven degrees further north, than the permanent colonisation of Scandinavia can be shown to have reached in the Earlier Age of Bronze.

As regards the rock-sculptures however, it should be borne in mind that those of the northern provinces are

as a rule considerably later than those of the south in Scania, and Bohuslehn and Smaalehnene in Norway, and are also mostly derived from a time when iron began to come into general use even in the higher North.

It is in short clear that even the considerable culture and numerous population of the Bronze-Age both from west and east were in no condition to give any great extent or importance to these northern settlements, as compared with the settlement of southern Scandinavia. Only the Mälar provinces as far north as the river Dal and southern Norway can have been more thickly peopled, and that hardly before the close of the Bronze-Age or even the commencement of the Age of Iron in the more southern parts of the North. But here, as well as in east Sweden, in comparison with districts more to the south-west, there is a very remarkable decline in the number of graves and other memorials of the Bronze-Age. Many of the bronze objects, as the variety of the cast-finds proves, were imported from the south, especially from the old Danish lands and the east of north Germany. On account of their costliness in such far-away tracts they must long have been used in conjunction with implements of stone. Accordingly they do not present enough richness variety and individuality of type to justify us in speaking of a Bronze-culture characteristic of Sweden and Norway alone. As in the Stone-Age, so also now the actual seat of culture in Scandinavia was still confined to Scania and the rest of the old Danish lands. Thence it spread its rays stronger than before—though still faint and slowly—away to the more distant and incle-

ment north; while eastwards it spent its last efforts on the coasts of Finland.

In the old Danish lands an unusual life and stir, nay, an exceedingly remarkable degree of luxury must have prevailed during the Bronze-Age, especially after the fusion of the western and eastern streams of culture and people. While in the north of Sweden and Norway the more primitive conditions of the Stone-Age—in part at least—had scarcely yet vanished, the Bronze-culture had here completely gained the upper-hand. Original influences from various quarters and local conditions and developments must have produced distinct peculiarities of taste &c. in the different districts down to the very close of the period. Only in the large characteristic features did a prominent uniformity prevail.

Amid the crags of north Sweden and Norway hunting and fishing doubtless continued to form the staple means of living for the population. And for these pursuits simpler implements of stone and bone did well enough. In the Danish lowlands on the contrary hunting and fishing were driven back by cattle-rearing and agriculture still more than in the Later Stone-Age. In illustration of this it is noticeable that arrow-heads and fish-hooks of bronze, which were generally used during the Bronze-Age in more southern lands, very seldom turn up in Denmark and the rest of the North. Besides the finds in graves and elsewhere of the hides and bones of domestic animals and even bridles horse-ornaments and figures of horses' heads with many others, the rock-sculptures in the south of Scandinavia prove that the Bronze-Age people had fully developed

the breeding of domestic animals. The horse was used both for riding and driving. So also small cars of solid bronze and various ornamental fittings for the like have been repeatedly found. The existence of agriculture is attested by many of the rock-sculptures already mentioned, representing ploughs with their teams. Moreover wheat and millet straw ears and chaff have been found with a number of bronze objects covered up in a bronze hanging-vase in Laaland, an island which to this day is celebrated for its luxuriant wheat crops. Under such circumstances we can hardly doubt that here, as in other lands, various sorts of grain were grown, especially barley for brewing beer. Bees were also cultivated both for mead and wax, which, it appears, was much used for moulds to cast the finer articles of bronze.

Navigation, so important both for the internal traffic of the North, where the land is split up and everywhere washed by the sea, and also for more extensive trade-connexions with other countries, was now improved to a degree unknown before. So long as the inhabitants of the North were without metal tools they would be forced to content themselves with making their boats of heavy trunks hollowed out, or of a wooden framework covered with hides. Their larger vessels were constructed of planks laboriously fitted together, like the boats still used by several Stone-Age peoples in the South Seas. Improvement in ship-building first became possible with the introduction of metal implements. It is obvious that the new Bronze-Age peoples, who immigrated by land through the centre of Europe *to the Baltic* regions, and who had hitherto needed

boats only and smaller vessels to cross the lakes and rivers, cannot on their first arrival have brought with them any special skill in ship-building. But so soon as they were settled on the sea-coasts and deep fjords of the North, necessity must have taught them to build larger and stronger ships, with which to venture out on the open stormy seas. On stone blocks and rock-surfaces as well as on various articles of bronze many pictures of ships are to be seen, broad abaft and sharp in the stern. Masts sails and crew are at times distinctly indicated.

Often they are numerous and arranged in rows, in such a way as to give us the impression that ships were not used exclusively for the pursuits of peace, for the steadily growing commerce with lands near and far, but were also frequently engaged in regular sea-fights, commemorated by some of the larger rock-sculptures.

But this skill in ship-building and warlike spirit of seamanship, destined in after times to give the sons of the North so distinct a character, were not founded only during the Bronze-Age and within the actual boundaries of the North. From the very first the Bronze-Age folk brought in with them the sturdy germs of this warlike spirit which,—to judge from many rock pictures of fights afoot and even on horseback, as well as from other evidence,—found a kindly soil in the North. Only a warlike people can have continued throughout the whole Bronze-Age in the remote North to manufacture and set a high value on the handsome and costly swords daggers spear-heads axes helmet-ornaments shields horns &c. which, in richest variety and astonishing quantities, frequently in connexion

with flints or "strike-lights" (Ildtöi)[4] are being constantly exhumed from graves fields lakes and bogs. It would seem that men then as a rule fought on foot, and only exceptionally on horse, a privilege reserved perhaps for the superior chieftains. Remains of horses and riding-harness are seldom or never found in the graves of the Bronze-Age warriors, but mostly in bogs, and those too from a late period of the Bronze-Age.

In keeping with the splendid and bright gilded accoutrements of men—and women too, as it seems—their garments were woven of wool and adorned with fringes and belts, at times in various colours. Many such garments in perfect preservation have been taken from graves containing cists of hollowed oak on the peninsula of Jutland. They show that here at least the men wore jackets caps and artistically woven bonnets, sometimes of a peculiar kind of thick felt, very like the bonnets still worn by the poor in Hungary. Strangely enough they appear even then not to have worn trousers, the legs being perhaps swathed round with narrow strips of stuff. The sword, so important a weapon for the warlike people of this period, was sheathed in wood and leather or laths and carried in a leathern strap over the shoulder. In a stone cist at Hvidegaarden[5] in Seeland, where the burnt bones of a warrior wrapt in a cloak of woven wool were laid on an ox-hide, a small leathern case seems to have hung from his shoulder-strap. It contained some small implements of stone and bone sewed in leather, a

[4] Cf. J. Anderson's "Scotland in Pagan Times," p. 375.
[5] Found in 1845.

FIG. 3.

piece of amber a snake's tail a hawk's claw a Mediterranean shell (*Conus Mediterraneus Hwass.*) &c. These were presumably worn as charms against sorcery or as remedies for sickness, in fact as protecting amulets.[6] The women were sometimes armed with daggers, and wore artistic hair-nets jackets and long skirts with a waist-belt. Fragments of similar woollen garments are frequently brought to light in many other Northern graves containing both burnt and unburnt bodies laid in stone and wooden cists under cairns. In Halland for instance pieces have been found with burnt bones in a small cist made of a tree-trunk hollowed out. Traces also of finely woven linen have been met with. The bodies buried in the coffins were generally in full dress and usually wrapt in skins (*v.* Fig. 1, p. 73). On the other hand the graves present no distinct remains of real skin-garments. Some of the skin-clad bodies discovered in bogs may possibly belong to the Bronze-Age. It is scarcely credible that the poorer classes in the cold North should so soon have taken to clothes of wool instead of skins. Indeed the latter have been worn by the poor throughout the North down to the latest times.

The passion for display prevalent throughout the whole Bronze-Age, marking, as it does, a high degree of prosperity, was not confined merely to weapons and military accoutrements. Vast numbers of trinkets are found, both gold and bronze. Many of them are plated with gold and richly adorned with elegant spiral ring wave and line chasings and inlaid with amber and

[6] O. Montelius ("Die Kultur Schwedens," Germ. Tr., p. 83) sees in this the grave probably of a doctor ("medicine-man"?) or magician, *or perhaps* both in one.

FIG. 4.

resin. They appear in vast numbers in the form of ornaments for the head hair and neck, breast-trinkets or brooches, bracelets finger-rings and pins.

Not less conspicuous is the fine sense for beauty of form and richness of ornamentation. In this respect the North is, as far as we know, unrivalled even by most of the countries of the Mediterranean during the pure Age of Bronze. Its taste shows itself in the implements vessels and other objects of bronze wood and pottery (though in a less degree) which were used in the daily routine of life. Such being the case, the Bronze-people in the fruitful well-wooded old Danish lands must certainly have dwelt in more roomy and comfortable straw-thatched log-houses or farm-steads (Gaarde), than at any time previously, even though the walls in the dwellings of the poor at least were built only of mud or wattle-frames plastered with clay. A people so highly developed, acquainted with agriculture and navigation and studiously careful in fitting out the graves of their dead,—nay, at times even (as at Kivike in Scania) decorating the interior of a cist with a whole series of pictorial representations carved on the stones of the walls,—such a people would doubtless use a corresponding care in fitting out their own dwellings in this life. Even in the Later Stone-Age here and in other lands people must have begun to build larger and better log-houses. In such warlike times as the Bronze-Age the chiefs must now and then have been obliged to fortify their houses with wooden stockades earth-works and moats. Many very ancient ramparts, especially on the peninsula of Jutland, may pos*sibly date* from the civil feuds of this period.

It is very probable that during the Bronze-Age there were sanctuaries or regular temples throughout the North constructed of wood. These would naturally be attached to or at least near the abodes of chieftains. Owing to the perishableness of the material all remains of the wooden buildings of remote antiquity have, it is true, vanished without a trace. But the basis or site of such a temple is possibly to be found in the south-west of Seeland in an artificially terraced hillock close to Boeslunde church, and so, remarkably enough, in a spot regarded in later times as holy ground. As is well known, the Christian churches—after the example of foreign lands—were deliberately erected on the sites of the old heathen sanctuaries. In this hillock there are in fact two spots, namely on one of the terraces and on the top, where in all six beautiful bowls of gold have been discovered, some of them with handles of bronze wreathed with gold-thread and ending in horse-heads. It is generally admitted that these beautifully wrought and ornamented golden bowls, many of which have from time to time been found in the Danish lands deposited in fields lakes or bogs, were employed for sacred purposes. (Eleven for instance have been found together in a bronze vase in a bog near Nyborg.) For similar divine purposes a peculiar kind of hanging-vessel appears to have been in use; also certain large "Tutuli," as they are called, or lids of bronze. Like the golden bowls they are rare in graves, but found usually under stones on fields and in lakes or bogs. Along with them are other bronze objects. They were evidently deposited intentionally, sometimes with the bones of beasts, and often deliberately bent or broken in two. This inten-

tional destruction by breaking or bending appears also occasionally in the graves, especially in the case of swords and daggers. Precisely similar hoards of gold and bronze objects, consisting of metal clumps "jags" of castings articles half finished and bent or broken, together with others finished and fit for use, all concealed with the like care, frequently in vessels of bronze or clay, are found in fields and in bogs in Italy central Europe France the British Isles and north Germany, in short almost wherever the Bronze-culture has prevailed in Europe. On account of the value which must have been set upon gold and the tin-mixed bronze these troves must in general be regarded as most probably treasure buried at a time when minted money was still unknown. But their numbers are so great and their internal agreement both in Europe and Asia so striking, that they cannot all or most of them have been treasures casually hidden in moments of danger. Rather, like the similar remarkable phenomena already observed in the case of the Stone-Age, they appear to be due chiefly to ancient religious ideas, which led men to believe that in depositing valuables as a kind of offering to the gods they would gain their favour both in this life and the life to come,—nay, might themselves also in the next world come to enjoy the use and benefit of the precious things laid by.

To the divine worship in the Bronze-Age other offerings accompanied by banquets may doubtless be referred. Mingled with the remains of offerings above-mentioned we find the bones of beasts, and perhaps of men too, most likely prisoners-of-war. Of this we have indications in pictorial representations (in the

Kivike grave), as well as on many of the exquisite bowls and vessels of gold and bronze now extant. Certain large bronze vases were also probably employed at sacrificial feasts. They have been found set on the peculiar small cars of bronze already mentioned. For incense there was plenty of amber and resin—in thick round and flat cakes,—hoards of which are often dug up in bogs. Further the large horns hitherto met with only in bogs may according to the pictures in the Kivikè grave have served not merely for war but also, as nowadays in India, for the celebration of religious high festivals. It is indeed not unlikely that some penannular bracelets of massive gold, which end in large knobs and show traces of wear, had the same use as the valuable penannular "oath-rings" of later heathen times, which lay on the "Stallen" or altar in the temples. These were also worn on festal occasions by the "Godar" or sacrificing priests. In short even so early there was no want of the accessories required for a splendid ceremonial.

It is not now possible to describe in detail the religion of that period. It is reserved for future comparative investigation to point out more definitely the conceptions which were certainly once a common inheritance of the Bronze-Age folk both in the South and North the West and East even before their original immigration from Asia. Possibly these ideas lie at the basis of superstitions still held by the common people, and may account for some of the oldest myths and sagas among many peoples living far apart both in Europe and elsewhere. In the Scandinavian North meanwhile there are good grounds for supposing that

in the Bronze-Age, no less than in that of Stone, axes or hammers were highly reverenced as religious symbols of a Thunder-god (Thor). In the grave at Kivike we see carved figures of axes, which are evidently symbolic. They are also to be found repeated with similar tokens embossed on axes and hammers of bronze. A corresponding record of the use of axes in Greece also, as a symbol handed down from the Age of Stone to that of Bronze, appears in the figures of axes inlaid with gold on a Greek sword of bronze preserved in the Ethnographical Museum at Copenhagen. Some remarkably large axe-hammers of bronze enriched with gold plates and ornaments have been found on fields and in bogs in Denmark and Sweden. In form they resemble the symbolic figures of axes in the Kivike grave. Some of them are solid, others cast with wonderful delicacy on cores of thick clay. But, to judge by the workmanship decoration shape and awkward balance,—the socket being placed at the extreme end,—they seem unfitted for any real practical purpose. They involuntarily remind us how, according to Saxo, in the year 1130 A.D. Prince Magnus,[7] son of the Danish king Niels, after demolishing an ancient heathen temple on an island in or near Götaland in Sweden, brought home as booty some heavy copper hammers ("Malleos Joviales"), which had lain in the temple as symbols of Thor the god of thunder. Owing to such repeated devastation of heathen temples many of the sacred utensils may have been hidden in lakes by the faithful, or even flung into them with scorn by

[7] Chosen king of Götaland in 1124. *Vide* Munch, Det Norske Folks Hist. 2 Deel. pp. 671, 722, 732.

the destroyers. These lakes have now become bogs; and it is from these such objects are now so frequently restored to the light of day.

Of the marks peculiar to Thor, besides the hammer or axe and perhaps the snake, only here and there has his later mark been as yet found—the hooked-cross, that is, a cross with bent ends.[8] On the other hand we see on one shield on many tweezers or pliers and other objects sometimes a single pellet or more forming a triangle and sometimes corresponding complete triangular ornaments. Such a style of decoration could scarcely be the result of chance. Exactly similar marks and ornaments in the succeeding Age of Iron regularly denoted the trinity or triad Thor Odin and Frey. As is well known, a corresponding ancient representation of a trinity in the godhead may be observed among other peoples in very ancient times. It is found among the Celtic tribes in France. It can be traced from Europe to Asia and back to India the motherland. There is thus no inherent improbability against the existence of this conception in a primitive form among the Northmen of the Bronze-Age.

Nor is there any want of contemporary evidence for the worship both of Odin and Frey at this time. Distinct indications of the "Triskele" or three-armed cross appear on one of the heavy bronze axes on a hanging-vase on various knives and buttons and on some large neck- and head-rings ending in knobs: these date from the period of transition to the Age of Iron. This sign was very often the symbol of Odin in later times.

Not a few articles have Frey's mark, a straight-

[8] The Cross Cramponée, Swastika, or Fylfoot.

armed cross, often in a circle or ring, like the wheel-figures peculiar to the Stone-Age graves and rock-sculptures. A still larger number of objects have Freya's mark, a ring or dot, surrounded by one or more rings, sometimes forming peculiar ring-ornaments. The handles of various knives and sacrificial vessels of gold often terminate in horse-heads, the horse being sacred to Frey. The pictures of ships too, characteristic of northern Europe, engraved on bronze knives and on the rock-sculptures, and occasionally accompanied by birds (Frey's geese?), horses fishes and snakes, are possibly connected with the old myth of Skithbladner, Frey's ship of the air, more especially as Frey in later times at least was regarded as the seafarer's peculiar patron god. On the handles of the bronze knives so often mentioned we also find in the last period of the Bronze-Age human heads and figures adorned, like the later and more certain images of gods, with ear-rings neck-rings and body-rings and with emblems, which, we may reasonably suppose, are in this case also intended to represent gods. Among others we have a little female figure[9] (Freya?) with a double neck-ring, also a number of bronze figures from the transition period between the Ages of Bronze and Iron furnished with rings round the neck and waist. Among these is an undoubted figure of Thor seated[10] and wearing a horned helmet. The right hand, which is now lost, once held a huge hammer. A recent discovery has also been made on rock-sculptures in Sweden of human forms with horns or horned helmets,—a mark of distinction which was reserved in olden times

[9] "Arts," fig. 134. [10] Ibid. fig. 144.

both in Asia and Europe for the gods and highest chieftains.[11]

These and other traces of veneration for the symbols of fertility have not as yet been sufficiently observed in connexion either with the antiquities or rock-sculptures. They are remarkable indications that the people of the Bronze-Age in the North must, like their next neighbours in north Germany, have belonged to the great Gothic-Germanic race. Owing to the want of inscriptions and our ignorance of the language spoken at that time this is all we know of the origin and relationship of the tribes dwelling south and north of the Baltic. They stood at least on the same level of culture and were linked together by a lively intercourse. Such was the people who till about the time of Christ's birth upheld with such power and magnificence the peculiar conditions characteristic of the Bronze-culture, which except in north Britain and Ireland had elsewhere vanished. Strong in numbers and skilled in arms it is evident that they did not readily submit to subjugation or expulsion. For the first few centuries at least, after iron began to be used in the North, they seem on the whole to have held their ground against foreign invaders. Local names in the North even from so comparatively recent a time conceal no record of Celtic or other older settlers essentially different from the later inhabitants of the Scandinavian North.

Finally historical accounts at the time of Christ's birth and for several centuries afterwards speak of

[11] Juppiter Ammon?—Ashteroth Karnaim (=of horns).—Gen. xiv. 5. Among American chiefs and Japanese warriors: cf. "Man and his Handiwork," by Rev. J. G. Wood, p. 344.

Guttones Cimbri Teutones and other races,—but most of them unmistakably Gothic, and some with powerful fleets,—who settled near or on the coast of the Baltic. It is therefore highly probable that the people of the Bronze-Age, who even then had only just settled the Scandinavian North as far up as the Mälar provinces and the south of Norway, were of Gothic stock [12] and formed the vanguard of other Gothic-Germanic races then on the march, who were destined, but not till a later time in the Iron-Age, to complete the final settlement of the high North. At all events Gothic peoples were there in very ancient times. Remarkable records of this have been preserved in the Sagas. Snorre's Edda for instance relates that in days of yore Denmark was named "Reithgotaland" "Eygotaland" and "Gotland." In southern Sweden again there is an echo of the name in "Gautland," that is Götaland, and in the island of "Gotland."

Some time before the expulsion of the Later Bronze-Age on the Baltic began, or a few centuries before Christ, Europe in general still, as in the previous period, presented a remarkably varied spectacle of culture in its various regions.

To the extreme north lay the remote districts of Norway north Sweden Finland and north-eastern Russia with their Finnish settlers still, so to speak, in a pure "Arctic" Stone-Age.

Further south on the Scandinavian peninsula as far as the fixed northern boundaries of the Bronze-folk and also on the southern coasts of Finland under the

[12] Against Munch and others, who considered them to be of Celtic *origin.*

influence of Sweden, there prevailed a mixture of the Stone and Bronze Ages.

In the rest of Scandinavia and in the lands immediately south of the Baltic and in Ireland the most northern parts of England and Scotland the Bronze-Age still stood in full force.

In south England France and central Europe on the other hand an Iron-Age culture in many respects peculiar and non-classic was already generally diffused.

Lastly in Greece and Italy during the development of the classic culture peculiar to those countries science and art had reached a marvellous height.

Only the Iron-Age and the higher refinement and power which followed in its train could level out these old and deep-rooted differences in the development of European culture. But long time must certainly have elapsed and the borders of prehistoric times in all lands of Europe must have been far over-stepped, ere this object, so fraught with importance for the destinies of the human race at large, could in the main be reached.

Third Part.

THE IRON-AGE.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF THE IRON-AGE.

THE gloom of the prehistoric period in Europe begins now towards the close of the Bronze-Age in the lands on the Mediterranean, and especially in Greece, to vanish before the dawning light of history. About eight or nine centuries before the birth of Christ the poems of Homer give us a picture of the transition from the Age of Bronze to that of Iron. Other old classical writings have also preserved memories of the early use of iron in the South, as well as of the antecedent general use of bronze, and the still older employment of stone for implements and weapons. Gradually, as the higher civilisation of the Iron-Age and the knowledge of writing spread from Greece and Italy over the Alps northwards, must the darkness of prehistoric times there too though slowly and only step by step have yielded before the dawn of a day more and more clearly illumined by the light of history.

The written records in the civilised lands of the South furnish us therefore, though only mediately, with an important contribution to the better understanding of the contemporary antiquities and memorials left us of the prehistoric times which long continued to prevail in the North, and increase in value the nearer we draw to the close of the period. It must however appear in the highest degree remarkable that the Iron-culture, which had quickly attained a rich development in the classic countries of the Mediterranean, and which had already eight or nine hundred years before the birth of Christ laid the foundations there of a new historical period, should have required well nigh a thousand years to penetrate the northern coastlands of the Baltic, and nearly two thousand, that is till the ninth or tenth century A.D., before it could put an end to the prehistoric conditions in the Scandinavian North, or in general bring these hitherto almost unknown regions within the pale of the world's history. In spite of the lively amber trade which continued to flow from the North, in spite of the many communications whereby the inhabitants of the North both on expeditions of peace and war must have come into contact with peoples far and near, foreign writers give us such scant and incomplete accounts of the high North far into the period just mentioned, *i.e.*, till the ninth century A.D., that it is impossible either from historical accounts or otherwise to draw a living picture of the conditions of civilisation in the North. Nor are there any native writings of contemporaneous origin to help us. The surprise we feel at so great and persistent a difference between the civilisation of south and north

Europe, which must have been yet greater during the previous ages, will however vanish, when we consider the perpetually hostile relations in which the conquering classic peoples stood for centuries towards the so-called "barbarian" tribes to the North, torn as they were by internal wars. Our surprise is much lessened, when we observe that there was almost as long or at all events a very considerable lapse of time between the introduction of the Iron-culture into south Europe itself and into the neighbouring regions of north Africa and Asia, comparatively near as they were.

We have seen that the more primitive movements of culture in the Ages of Stone and Bronze did not originate in Europe. Just as little was this the case with the Iron-culture and the commencement of its higher progress. True we cannot now settle with certainty how far back in time the first knowledge and use of iron recedes in Greece and Italy. But even should the use of iron be shown to have existed in these countries for more than a thousand years B.C.,—that is more than three thousand years ago,—the fact remains just as unshaken, that the objects of iron which are most like the objects of bronze, and which therefore lie nearest to a Bronze-culture, are derived from the interior of India, and that the antiquity of iron is beyond all comparison greater in Egypt Assyria Judea and in other regions of Asia than in Europe. Inscriptions antiquities and mighty monuments prove that iron more than four thousand years ago, that is more than two thousand before the birth of Christ, was generally used in Egypt. Hence it afterwards—*naturally* at an early date—spread south and west to

the interior of Africa. Here the population, otherwise on the whole cut off by such strong barriers, appears in consequence to have passed directly from the Stone-Age to that of Iron without any intervening Age of Bronze. At least simultaneously with its use in Egypt iron made its appearance in considerable quantities further to the north and east in Asia—in Assyria and Palestine,—while from quite immemorial times it was known and used in Persia India and China. Unfortunately the chronology is too uncertain for us to fix its date. But the discoveries just mentioned of exceedingly ancient Indian objects of iron in Bronze-Age forms show that India probably continued to be the real centre from which the knowledge and use of iron originally radiated in various directions. Crossing the old Culture-realms in Persia Assyria Palestine and Egypt it was at last brought by long-beaten tracks westwards to the extreme south of Europe. Undoubtedly it first reached both Greece and the regions near the mouth of the Danube through Egypt and Asia Minor. Even long after iron had come into general use in Italy the Romans continued to obtain a great part of their best iron by extensive commerce with the Orient, nay, even with India and the still more distant China. And in general the classical culture in Greece and Italy was developed on the foundation of the far older oriental culture. As a result of the importance everywhere justly attributed to iron the writings of antiquity contain many myths of its first discovery. Usually however it was supposed to have been found, after great conflagrations in forests had smelted the ore in the ground into lumps fit for the hammer and forge. Of

special interest are the accounts we possess to the effect that the Romans drew their best iron from Spain as well as from the East and from the Danube-lands or "Noricum," the swords of which in the time of Cæsar Augustus were so famous in Rome. The rich metal-producing regions in central Europe had thus early a remarkably developed iron industry, surpassing even that of Rome to some extent. As in the Bronze-Age, it seems therefore that they originally received the new metal by other routes than Greece and Italy, though also from the Orient, and independently improved on the working of it. The Danube, so important and in fact the chief artery connecting central Europe with the Orient, continued doubtless to pour fresh blood and life into the populations of the surrounding valleys; while gradually more southern and richer streams of culture more directly imparted to Greece and Italy a share in the produce of the Egyptian and Assyrian culture.

Yet more strongly than in the previous Age of Bronze must the originally distinct currents in south and central Europe have come into contact with one another in the Age of Iron. As early as the transition from the Bronze-Age to that of Iron in central Europe (at least four to five centuries before Christ) we here find by the side of native productions numerous traces of connexions with and influences from the ancient pre-classic culture of Iron in the more southern countries. On investigation however it appears that these connexions were not at first maintained so much with Greece,—where indeed the higher classic culture first *arose*,—as with central and north Italy, where the early

Etruscan or even pre-Etruscan culture had long ruled and prepared the way. Many mutually corroborative discoveries from central Italy northwards across Switzerland Austria south-western Germany the Rhine-lands and to some extent the more westerly parts of north Germany prove that the wide-spread pre-Etruscan objects with their forms pictorial decorations and general workmanship must have had a considerable connexion with or influence upon the culture of the oldest Iron Age in these regions during the "Hallstat period," as it has been called.

But a comparison with the discoveries further to the north shows also that the pre-Etruscan objects reached the Scandinavian North in any case only through many intermediate stages and quite sporadically. Here it evidently had no power to expel the Bronze-Age or found a new Iron-culture in its place. Similarly the products of a later period of the fully-developed peculiar Etruscan culture, which had found their way to Switzerland central Europe and especially the Rhine-lands and north Germany, come to a stop on the southern frontiers of the North (Lübeck).

To the pre-Etruscan or Etruscan influence flowing north from Italy another current joined itself after the rise of the classic civilisation in Greece. From Macedonia and from the Greek colonists of the Crimea and of Marseilles it proceeded northwards to southernmost Russia Hungary Gaul (or France) and thence right up to the British Isles. This current has left numerous traces in many regions to the south and west, especially in Hungary Bohemia Gaul (or France) and the south of England, in the frequent barbaric imitations of the

coins of Philip the Second and Alexander the Great, kings of Macedonia. It appears to have been the first to introduce silver, and was of no slight significance for the development of the peculiar so-called "Galatian" or late Gallic period of culture, which prevailed to some extent in the most central and western parts of Europe in the last centuries before and at the time of Christ's birth. This current however had no very strongly marked or general influence, and acted at most only intermediately on the far North, where the barbaric imitations of Macedonian coins are unknown. On the other hand both in north Germany and in the peninsula of Jutland—the old trade-route and line of intercourse between the South and the North—both in graves containing burnt bodies and elsewhere numerous pre-Roman or Gallic brooches and weapons have recently been found of the peculiar pre-Roman or Gallic form which is described as the "La Têne" type from a find in Switzerland.

Between the southern boundary of south Jutland and the Liim-fjord we can already point to six scattered finds of iron swords. In the same way corresponding pre-Roman brooches are found fairly often with burnt bones in urns and also with smaller objects of iron in Fÿen Seeland and Lolland, but most of all in Bornholm, from which they are scattered, but more rarely, across Bohuslehn up to the extreme south of Norway, and also to the east across Öeland to the most eastern parts of Sweden. But the outskirts of Norway and Sweden they reached later than Denmark. It is impossible therefore to deny that the most southern *parts* at least of the North during the first beginnings

of the Iron-Age felt the continued influences of this as well as of the earlier great European currents of culture. How far its encroachments succeeded before the time of Christ's birth in completely expelling the Bronze-culture in southern Scandinavia is a question for the future to clear up.

In passing, it should be observed in this connexion that, just as in the antecedent Age of Bronze, there is still an absence both of objects purely Greek and articles to indicate, as in central and east Germany, a livelier intercourse with and influence direct from Greece. At no time were the Greek colonists of the Crimea and the trade and influences that thence issued northwards strong enough to bring Greek antiquities and coins in any numbers along the rivers of Russia and Poland up to the most eastern coasts of the Baltic. Solitary finds of such objects, *e.g.*, of some few Greek coins on the island of Gotland,[1] are as yet either extremely doubtful or quite unimportant for the history of culture.

Thus in spite of powerful movements of culture in the centre and west of Europe, as the Iron Age there gained firmer footing, the Scandinavian North evidently remained singularly isolated during its Later Bronze-Age down to the Christian era or somewhat after. Nor, so far as we now know, was this sequestered position fully forced, until the Roman classic culture had at last grown strong enough to cross the Alps and win a new empire from hitherto unknown tracts in the northern "barbarian" countries.

[1] Two Macedonian coins of Philip II. and one Greek coin from Panormus have been found in Gotland.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EARLIER IRON-AGE IN THE NORTH.

(From about the time of Christ's birth to 450 A.D.)

THE remote situation of the Scandinavian lands had during the Bronze-Age withdrawn the population for centuries from the many great advantages which the Iron-culture, long established in more southern regions, brought in its train. But by way of recompense the population was enabled during an unusually long and undisturbed repose to pursue a period of rich and in many respects successful development, corresponding most closely with the great Heroic Age, which ended in Homer's times. The freedom and independence of the Bronze-Age folk remained in the high North unchallenged by the violent commotions and struggles of peoples which frequently at an early period shook the interior of Europe. While the Roman armies were crossing the Alps and in their victorious march subduing with fire and sword so many lands in the centre and west of Europe, the inhabitants of the North knew nothing of the dangers and horrors of a war of conquest. They escaped with a fright, when their German neighbours in the year 9 A.D. cut down the Roman general Varus and his legions in the Teuto-

berger Wald in modern Hannover. But at a later time and in a purely peaceful way they reaped the benefits of the higher culture founded by the conquests and colonists of Rome on the Danube and in Germany Gaul and Britain.[1]

We have already seen that the inhabitants of the North about the time of Christ's birth must have stood outside of any close intercourse with the more highly developed races of southern Europe. This is shown more clearly by the discoveries as yet observed in the North itself and in the neighbouring lands on its southern frontiers. Down to the very close of the Bronze-Age in the North we find mingled with objects of copper and tin (or bronze) and gold only extremely feeble traces of iron zinc (which accompanied iron) silver and glass. Still more rare is it to meet with transitional bronze objects stamped with the new forms and ornaments of the Iron-Age. Even the most southern regions of the Scandinavian North can scarcely just at this time have felt any decided influence of a pre-Roman Iron-culture; though it is quite evident, at least in the last centuries before Christ, that such must have been generally diffused in north Germany. Most probably the only exception is that part of Denmark lying nearest to foreign countries, especially the peninsula of Jutland and Bornholm. There in a peculiar kind of grave with burnt bodies—the oldest of the "Brandpletter" (places of burning)[2]—

[1] Mommsen's statements, Band v. p. 118, need considerable modification.

[2] (Brandpletter.) Small round holes filled with charcoal burnt bones fragments of pottery &c., and usually covered with a slab just below the surface. More than 2000 have been examined in Bornholm.

numerous belt-hooks brooches knives &c. of iron have been found, the types of which, reminding us to some extent of the forms of the Bronze-Age, can be shown in the immediately adjacent districts of north Germany. Longer weapons, especially swords, in contrast to what we find in later graves, are just as rare in the oldest "Brandplet" graves on Bornholm as in the few oldest graves of the Iron-Age with burnt bodies in the rest of Denmark. An exception must however be made in the case of Jutland, which possibly ought to be ascribed to the times immediately before or after the birth of Christ. Hence it would seem as though iron was at first introduced into the southern North only very sparingly, people being obliged on account of its costliness to confine the use of it to smaller objects. Roman writers, it is true, inform us that the north Germans about the time of Christ, though they themselves dug iron, seldom had swords or large weapons;[3] and this agrees sufficiently well with the fact that the graves of the pre-Roman Iron-Age in north Germany opposite Bornholm are poor in swords. But it is a question whether this also was not due to the long-established custom prevalent amongst the Germans,—a custom of which the Romans knew nothing,—that only princes, who would naturally be mounted, carried swords; while the common soldiers were armed with spear or lance. But, as soon as iron began to be more generally diffused over the Scandinavian North, iron swords must here at least, as the finds show, have been present even in considerable numbers, possibly as a result of the unusually numerous princely families which dwelt there and mul-

[3] Tac. Germ. 6.

tiplied largely in course of time. On the other hand daggers, which played a great part in the Bronze-Age, do not appear to have been much used during the Age of Iron.

So far as we yet know, the Iron-culture was first introduced into the North from north Germany little by little and quite peacefully.[1] The same form therefore of grave with cremation, which had been generally adopted during the Later Age of Bronze, long continued in effect to prevail during the transition and in the first period of the Iron-Age. It is only surprising that the finds of iron articles from the times nearest to Christ's birth, which are altogether wanting in the north of Scandinavia, are still in the more southern regions, *i.e.* in Denmark, so few, that they can scarcely prove the presence there of an Iron-culture in full force during the whole of the first century after Christ. Beyond this result therefore the facts as yet hardly allow us to go, although there are many probabilities which tell undeniably for the earlier introduction and more common use of iron in these parts.

Already however we see that in any case the Roman classic culture had without doubt laid a firm and definite basis for the introduction of a really complete Iron-culture, penetrating in effect and absolute in sway, into northern Europe and the lands of the North. The scanty accounts of foreign historians are silent on this subject; but whole series of Roman antiquities and coins from south to north in the North itself have in this respect supplied a new and certain starting-point. It is specially worthy of remark, that in the North, except some few uncertain pieces, there

[1] It is significant that the metal is called in the Sagas Gotamalmi.

have been no finds of old Roman coins of the Republic or consuls, and never with old Roman antiquities, to show any connexion between the North and the Roman dominions previous to the conquests of Rome north of the Alps, that is, before the Empire. Not less significant is the still more complete absence in the North of those barbaric imitations of Roman coins which for centuries were struck in such great numbers by the native Gauls and Britons in the western countries. From this we see at once—and other circumstances confirm the view—that the inhabitants of the North were not connected with Roman colonists or with the "barbaric" tribes under their immediate influence by direct intercourse with Britain or Gaul. Rather their communications moved along the more eastern trade-routes opened in olden times through the districts of the Rhine and Danube. Archæological investigations steadily pursued in the most central and western parts of Europe render it also more and more clear that the Gallic and Germanic nations, which dwelt there during the times of Rome's conquests, were far from being so barbaric as the accounts of classical authors, coloured evidently by ignorance and prejudice, would have us suppose. Had the Romans on their arrival in the lands north of the Alps and in their settlements there not found a peculiar and considerable development of culture among the conquered Barbarians, it is impossible to understand how, according to the certain evidence of antiquities, so many objects of half-Roman or Romano-barbaric forms could have been produced in the Roman colonies in the immediate neighbourhood. Some of these must have been made by the Romans

for the use of the Barbarians and therefore under the influence of native taste; others were manufactured by the Barbarians themselves in imitation of Roman types.

Even the oldest of the numerous and extensive finds of Roman antiquities in the Northern lands show the beginnings of such a mingling of Roman or half-Roman forms; and as time went by they greatly increased. The influence of the mighty current of Roman culture can thus hardly have reached the North, before it had gained a firm foothold in central Europe during the first century A.D. by colonies and the ties of active intercourse which those colonies formed with the surrounding Barbarian nations. In the oldest Roman finds in the North we seldom or never meet with coins to enable us to fix the date more precisely. But it can scarcely be doubted that the regular intercourse of the far North with the colonists of Rome on the Rhine and Danube began only from the second century onwards to display that steady lasting progress and large expansion of which the finds bear witness. Even in the neighbouring lands to the south—in Hannover Mecklenburg and the other coast-lands of the Baltic, which lay nearer to the Roman Empire and formed the thoroughfare to the North for the Roman or half-Roman culture,—this cannot have been generally adopted earlier than about the commencement of the second century. Both in north Germany and subsequently in the Scandinavian North the half-Roman culture must at first have been introduced very slowly, since it does not appear to have been promoted by conquests and consequent sudden revolutions, but by peaceful steady commerce alone. The oldest purely

Roman or to some extent half-Roman current was evidently throughout a long course of years too weak to spread uniformly over the whole North. Only in the old Danish lands and in some of the most easterly districts of Sweden but most of all in Jutland and the islands does it show itself in greater breadth and strength. On the other hand in the Mälar districts and just south of them its traces are very faint and recent. It is not so surprising that the higher culture of the Iron-Age should at first have been scarcely able to force the strong barriers, which the natural features of the Scandinavian peninsula opposed to its progress northwards, when one takes into account how forests and fjelds long afterwards and indeed quite into historical times formed distinct boundaries in Sweden between the lands of the North and South Forests and in Norway between the districts of the South and North Fjelds. At that time these limits could be traversed only with great difficulty and considerable danger.

Thus the Iron-culture, as in the case of Stone and Bronze before it, was like some foreign plant tended and reared abroad and transferred in full bloom to Northern ground. Great as had been the native metal industry previously, with only copper tin and gold at its command, it was quite unable to cope with the new industry. For besides better implements of iron and steel, the latter brought with it costly utensils and objects of luxury, adorned at times with colours mosaics and inlaid enamel, and made of zinc-mixed copper silver and glass.

In the face therefore of so superior a development *the old* native bronze industry with its peculiar style

in forms and ornaments must gradually have been thrown into the shade or finally and completely driven back. For a considerable period one examines the area of the new culture in the North in vain for distinct evidence of any real revival of the earlier native metal industry. Possibly the Northern workers in metal soon learned to forge some of the two-edged iron swords with straight hafts or the more common one-edged sword with hilt curved inwards[5] as well as spears shield-bosses and other iron-work, which, though doubtless of pre-Roman origin, are significant of the first semi-Roman period in north Germany and the North. Probably too the best native goldsmiths copied imported articles, such as silver and gold neck-ornaments pendant trinkets[6] pins rings brooches &c. But it is certain that all the forms—Roman or half-Roman—are entirely foreign, without a trace of specially Northern taste; and equally certain is it that by far the most of these objects, as well as the bronze pans vases jars and mirrors, not to speak of glass cups and beakers, were manufactured abroad, partly in Italy, and partly in the colonies founded by the Romans or strongly influenced by Rome. Of this Roman inscriptions and trade-marks often give abundant testimony. Only clay pottery, which is found from the earliest times of the Iron-Age in large quantities and rich variety, shows a native manufacture of increased beauty. But in their forms, as well as in the sacred signs which now first

[5] "Arts," fig. 186. Fräulein Mestorf, Alterthüm. aus Schlesw.-Holst., figs. 626–8. Rygh's Norske Oldsager, figs. 190, 191, and cf. ib. 496–500.

[6] "Berlokker," *vide* "Arts," fig. 167.

begin to appear on the funeral urns—Thor's mark (the hooked cross and hammer sign) Frey's cross and Freya's ring, as well as in the ornaments composed of these signs,—we recognise clear evidence of a stronger influence from the nearly related Germanic peoples to the south, on the borders of the Roman empire.

We must however remember that the sacred signs mentioned above did not originate in Europe either among the Germanic Gallic or classic nations. The latest investigations in Asia Minor on the supposed site of ancient Troy[7] have brought to light a number of signs on images of deities ornaments jars &c. derived from the Bronze-Age, which correspond exactly with those of the Bronze-Age in the North. The same signs can be followed far into Asia, where they were used—with other ancient marks for deities—at various times and among various peoples. It would seem indeed that the more civilisation and the religious ideas bound up with it were developed, the more common it became for each people to represent certain native gods by peculiar signs or even by images with characteristic attributes.

During the prevalence of the oldest Roman or semi-Roman current of culture, so decisive in its influence on the external and internal relations of those who were the immediate successors of the Bronze-Age people in Denmark and the neighbouring north of Germany, the old custom of cremation still continued general; while other national fashions also maintained their ground without any special change. The graves were still to

[7] Schliemann's Ilios (Lond.), p. 116.

some extent made in mounds, as in olden times. They usually contain burnt bones wrapt in a garment and laid in Roman bronze vases along with many clay jars cups beakers ornaments utensils &c., the whole being covered by a stone cairn or stone cist. Others again, at least in the more southern regions of the North, as in north Germany, were now with increasing frequency buried together in common cemeteries. Some of the grave-goods, which were often laid upon the funeral pile, especially weapons, appear often to have been deliberately bent or broken. As in the Bronze-Age, not a few objects of this period are found in bogs and fields evidently deposited intentionally, and some of them certainly with a religious purpose, such as vases saucepans beakers trinkets and, though more seldom than before, weapons and implements. Small Roman or semi-Roman statuettes of bronze, sometimes adorned with gold and silver, have often been found. These, we have reason to think, served as images of the gods in the North. Broken hands of larger Roman statues of bronze have also been discovered both on the peninsula of Jutland and in Fyen. The vases saucepans drinking-horns and beakers characteristic of nearly all the grave marsh and field finds appear to indicate that the custom of holding funeral and sacrificial feasts still continued.

The remains found in a bog at Kjerteminde are doubtless derived from a somewhat earlier period of the Iron-Age proper. They consist of a sacrificial vessel formed of brass-plates hammered and riveted and most probably manufactured under direct foreign (classic-Celtic ?) influence. On the outside is fastened a

very heavy ring with prominent bulls' heads: between them is a large human head in relief with a thick neck-ring ending in two round knobs. The bull was a distinctive sign for Jupiter the classic god of thunder, as well as for the Germanic Thor. This explains why drinking-horns brooches and other objects from the

Fig. 5.

earlier Iron-Age of the North repeatedly show bulls' heads. Hence there can scarcely be a doubt that the human head between the bulls' heads is a picture of Thor, especially as the exterior representations correspond with the interior. On each side of Odin's mark (the three-armed and in this case curved cross or

triskele) they show the boar sacred to Frey along with signs of the trinity Thor Odin and Frey. In graves on Bornholm and at Ribe similar though perhaps somewhat later cauldrons of riveted bronze or brass have been found. These also, though without figures, correspond in having heavy rings of iron. They were used as funeral urns. At Ribe a vessel of this kind contained burnt human bones and relics of a coat of ring-mail, bent and half-burnt, remains of some ten Roman or Romano-barbaric bronze vessels a sword of iron, bent double, various mountings a gold ring &c. It is probable that these large vessels were at first used in sacrifices, as at burials formerly, and at the close of the sacrificial feast after cremation of the dead were used to receive the remains of the bones and grave-goods, which were thus specially consecrated to the gods.

In this the spiritual domain a more considerable change, especially with reference to the fashions of burial, subsequently makes its appearance along with other revolutions doubtless less peaceful. As a natural consequence of unbroken intercourse between South and North from the second century till about the fourth at latest the oldest Roman or semi-Roman current of culture, flowing in partly from the peninsula of Jutland, partly from Mecklenburg or still more eastern regions on the south shores of the Baltic, must have spread somewhat more uniformly over the Northern lands. But in the interior of Sweden and Norway it hardly extended beyond the settlements of the Bronze-Age people in earlier times, that is only just to lat. 59° N. Apparently however it did not succeed by the introduction of iron in wholly supplanting

the Bronze-Age utensils ornaments and weapons of bronze gold bone and stone. But these at last began to give way to a later and also semi-Roman current. With the exception of Roman coins in greater numbers, purely Roman articles now ceased almost entirely. All objects bear the stamp of a still more barbarised Roman style of art from the provinces and Germany, a style which evidently had long ago risen gradually on the older foundations among the Germanic peoples on the Danube and Rhine. Its date must certainly be placed between the third and fourth centuries or towards the beginning of the decline of the Roman Empire and Roman civilisation. As yet however it had not reached the borders of the Scandinavian North; nor did it fully succeed in crossing them and overspreading the extensive regions beyond till about 400 A.D. during the great national migrations and under cover of the vast commotions which accompanied the downfall of the Roman Empire. Meantime, like all previous movements of culture, this current had first overspread north Germany. Among the discoveries here made we may trace it not only near the Rhine and Danube and in Hannover and Mecklenburg, which still can show purely Roman graves or probable traces of Roman settlements, but along the south coast of the Baltic as far as the Baltic Provinces. Between these remote eastern regions, which had always been late to feel the contact of foreign culture, and the Roman colonists in the Danube lands to the south a more lively and—in its later results—important intercourse was opened. It followed the rivers Oder and Vistula, which had already been used for traffic in the Later Bronze-Age,

and was maintained by the intermediate kindred tribes. Thus by various ways from the Rhine to the Vistula did the Gotho-Germanic peoples east and south of the Baltic come at last to have a real share in the higher refinement. Thus too they received the beginnings of a peculiar rune-writing which their southern kindred had long ago appropriated under an influence Romano-barbaric in its origin. With the new culture a new kind of burial also, to some extent, came into vogue. The bodies were often buried unburnt either in "warrior howes" or in large numbers side by side under the earth's surface in "grave-rows," as they are called. They were richly provided with bronze vessels saucepans strainers silver and glass beakers ornaments of gold and silver &c. but more rarely with weapons. These graves at first show no trace of the old custom of deliberately damaging the grave-goods by bending or breaking them. On the other hand the numerous and often handsome vases and the bones of animals laid in or near them prove that the celebration of funeral and sacrificial feasts was not merely continued but must have spread and grown in importance and costliness. For the first time numbers of Roman silver coins or "denarii" find their way into the Baltic regions. The latest were minted in the first half of the third century A.D. But it must have taken long for large quantities of them to come so far. They seem also to have been in circulation among the Barbarians long after they were issued. Those therefore which are found here are often almost worn out. Hence in spite of their appearance in the finds of these countries many of these finds must be ascribed to the fourth and even as a

rule to the fifth and sixth centuries. In the Danish graves, which otherwise contain articles of much the same kind and age, we sometimes find an older denarius, sometimes a far later Roman coin from the close of the fourth century.

On the evidence therefore of contemporary memorials, which it is impossible to doubt, the Roman or half-Roman culture had spread far further than the written records would at all lead us to suppose. It exercised a powerful influence on the more northern German Barbarians never subdued by Rome, even as far as the distant shores of the Baltic. Here however its appearance varies somewhat in the various districts. The new fashions of burial especially did not come into force everywhere in the same degree. Thus the Romans with the civilising power of their special culture actually contributed in a manner to strengthen educate and even equip the Barbarians, especially the Germans, for the struggle which in the fifth century ended in the annihilation of the Western Empire, and produced so many shiftings of peoples in connexion with the foundation of a new and more independent Germanic culture in various European countries.

History has nothing certain to tell us of the condition of the Scandinavian North at that time. All the more important is the testimony of antiquities and monuments. According to these the North was hardly less stirred than the rest of Europe by the outbreak of those violent but at last fruitful revolutions which reddened the dawn of the new era.

A close kinship a common culture and unbroken communications had from times immemorial united the

populations north and south of the Baltic. It was not to be expected that the Scandinavian North should be spared the after-effects of those great national movements in north Germany, which till about the close of the migrations were called forth by the mighty inroad of the Slavs. From Russia they advanced over the north-east of Germany driving out the Goths before them. They reached the Elbe and east coast of Holstein; and then, though feebly, spread even as far perhaps as the extreme south of Laaland and Falster. Unsettled by these movements the Angles and Saxons (and not a few Frisians and Jutes also), chiefly from the Elbe districts, were driven over to conquer England. Other Germanic races pressed on to occupy their abandoned settlements; while the Gothic tribes of north Germany, shattered homeless and roving, fled in various directions: some went south; others again would naturally turn to the north, where races near of kin were already settled. Here there was still room enough, especially in the thinly settled north of Sweden and Norway, for a fresh and numerous population.

In confirmation of this it appears that towards the close of the Early Iron-Age (about 400–450 A.D.) the introduction from north Germany and the Baltic Provinces of the later current of originally half provincial-Roman, half barbaric culture with the interment of bodies and the use of rune-writing was actually attended by stormy and extensive internal struggles; though in the southern more thickly peopled North it may well have been prepared for and to some extent aided by the continuance of trade along the old routes. In the higher and less populous North its advance was com-

paratively more peaceful. At all events neither in Sweden nor Norway is a single instance yet known of one of the bog-finds belonging to this period. On the peninsula of Jutland and in Fyen they occur in striking numbers. In Seeland and Bornholm they are as yet rare. Their astonishing frequency shows how often at this very time evidently after victories large quantities of objects belonging to the equipment of an army in the field were collected throughout the country. Along with horses' bones hacked asunder or split this booty according to a widespread custom in older days was evidently offered to the gods in thanksgiving for the victory, or specially to the god of battles (Thor?). The weapons and implements were first bent and broken. The whole was then carefully deposited in lakes or bogs, sometimes in large boats, which were damaged and scuttled. No other period in the Scandinavian North gives such evidence so characteristic of struggles which must in any case have been extensive and prolonged.

For the first time we now meet with traces of remarkably high development in the method of conducting warfare. Both infantry and cavalry were provided with surprisingly rich arms of foreign manufacture. The outfit was made more serviceable in every detail. Of this there is clear evidence. The soldier's equipment included among other things the materials for producing fire, so important for every warrior. We even find fire-steels of a distinct improved form, which were carried either in the belt or hanging from it. On the peninsula of Jutland these finds occur in considerable numbers from the very south of Slesvig to the *extreme* north of Vendsyssel.

Norway was now in the age of the bog-finds or probably somewhat later almost completely colonised for the first time right up to lat. 69° in the north of Nordland's Amt. These settlements therefore reached as far as the boundaries of the Finns, who were living there in an "Arctic" Stone-Age. But on the peninsula of Jutland, to judge by the frequent clinker-built boats found in the bogs, ship-building and navigation must have been handed down and improved for generations previously. It is therefore highly probable that a portion of the older population of Jutland under the pressure of conquerors pushing forward from the south or even in their company crossed the sea to Norway, the population of which, especially to the north, where there are very distinct traces of a new style of burial commencing from this time, thus received a much needed increase of numbers as well as importance and power. But only the coast districts appear to have been settled. The great finds from the close of the early Iron-Age in Jutland and Norway show many striking points of resemblance. But just as the various styles of burial reached Denmark from north Germany, so in Norway they were adopted later and continued longer than in Jutland. There are the same early forms of graves with cremation, the same custom of laying the burnt bones in bronze vessels with a number of clay vessels buried under stone heaps, or at times in large stone cists, often too the same deliberate damaging of the grave-goods. But these customs, which in Jutland certainly date from the Early Iron-Age, probably belong to the Middle Iron-Age in the distant and isolated fjeld-tracts of Norway. In short it would be hard to

prove that an Iron-Age was in full force in Norway or in Sweden proper at the very same time as the Early Iron-Age in Denmark.

This movement also came from the south, no doubt directly along the Elbe, and partly also from the Rhine-lands. Crossing Jutland it spread north and east. Proof of this is given by the objects found in many bogs in Jutland and Fÿen, and in contemporary Danish and Norwegian graves, such as shirts of ring-mail helmets swords — frequently with damascened blades and hilts mounted with silver and ivory— brooches and other ornaments, riding-gear with gold and silver mountings draughtsmen and other pieces for games[8] handsome vases saucepans of a peculiar kind, with strainers fixed in them, beakers of metal or glass and so on. These last are sometimes inscribed with foreign runes and have their counterparts in not a few similar beakers found in north and central Germany Hungary and many other lands. Nor are these the only proofs of such a movement: here and there in Jutland, which otherwise on the whole retained cremation longer than the more eastern parts of Denmark, we may trace the introduction of the new custom of burying corpses unburnt in graves richly furnished with vessels of metal glass and clay. With still greater certainty can we follow it across Mecklenburg to Fÿen and Seeland. In these adjacent lands the skeleton-graves of this time offer the most striking resemblance to one another. At present it would even seem that this entirely foreign mode of burial centred, as it were, in

[8] The ancient Germans were desperate gamblers, sometimes staking their personal liberty on the game. Tac. Germ. 24.

Seeland, especially to the east, where it has left more numerous and considerable traces than in the rest of the old Danish lands. The same or a similar movement from the south across Mecklenburg and the surrounding country, which certainly again by way of Jutland brought a new addition of peoples in its train, spread at a later date from western Scania north to Halland and Bohuslehn and thence onwards over the south-east of Norway. A third and not less important stream of culture and peoples must have taken a still more easterly way. From the regions on the Oder and Vistula and from the Baltic Provinces it crossed the islands of Bornholm Öeland and Gotland to south-eastern Scania Blekinge East Gotland and the rest of Sweden in the north and east. Thence it passed over to the coast of Finland, but hardly reached further than lat. 63°. The new settlement in Sweden in the Middle Iron-Age must now have been six degrees further south than in Norway. In the whole of Norway only a few scattered Roman silver denarii have hitherto been found. These indeed do not often appear in Jutland and Fÿen. On the other hand later West-Roman gold and silver coins, especially of the time of Constantine, are here, as in Norway also, more frequent. In Seeland the denarii begin to appear in larger numbers, but are principally gathered in south-eastern Scania Bornholm Öeland and Gotland.[9] In the last of these islands they are dug up by thousands. The introduc-

[9] In Sweden of 4760 Roman coins from these times as many as 4000 are from Gotland, 96 from Öeland, 650 from Scania, and only 23 from the rest of Sweden. In 1870 as many as 1500 were found in one spot. O. Montelius, Kult. Schwed., pp. 95–6.

tion of the silver denarius into the eastern North was suddenly stopped doubtless by the national movements in the interior of Europe. Besides them we find hardly any other West-Roman coins in the east and north of Sweden before the year 400. Evidently this was due to the want of active intercourse with western Europe. On the other hand exactly similar troves of denarii are discovered on the Oder and Vistula quite down to Silesia Galizia and Hungary. From this we may at once infer that at this time there existed an important and extensive intercourse with the East. Thus north and south alike agree both in scattered finds of Roman or Romano-barbaric antiquities and also in the permanent monuments, which in the regions south-east of the Baltic are certainly due to an eastern Gothic population. The hitherto dark traditions of olden times which have been preserved in the Sagas fix a "Goth-heimar" or Home of the Goths in the regions south-east of the Baltic. At times too they tell us of a place called, like Denmark of old, "Reith-Gotaland" on the south coast of the Baltic, namely in the modern Pommerania and Mecklenburg. Every new observation tends to confirm these legends. Thus among others a large bog-find at Dobelsberg in Kurland reminds us strikingly in its contents and manner of deposit of the peculiar bog-finds in Jutland and Fÿen dating from the close of the Early Iron-Age. The Stone-settings common in Blekinge and eastern Sweden, which take the form of squares circles and especially ships, recur for a considerable distance south-east of the Baltic, particularly in Kurland, where stones arranged in the form of ships with off-

sets like thwarts have recently been investigated, and show by their contents that they were not later, as previously supposed, but certainly older than the ship-settings in Öeland and eastern Sweden, with which they evidently correspond. Moreover many antiquities found in the earth but most of all the ancient remains of the Gothic language prove that prior to the fifth century Gothic peoples must have dwelt in these regions and influenced the Finnish and other neighbouring races, and that their speech, apart from minor local peculiarities, was in the main the same as that which was spoken by the Goths on the Danube and Goths in the Scandinavian North. Of this there is distinct evidence in the oldest rune inscriptions still existing here, some of them dating from the close of the Early Iron-Age (400-450), others from the Middle Iron-Age (450-700).

Thus at last by a way of its own, though also partly owing to repeated shiftings from north to south on the Scandinavian peninsula, the north of Sweden received its first real permanent extensive population. This was about the very last period of the Early or even perhaps at the commencement of the Middle Iron-Age in the old Danish lands, that is, about the years 350-450 A.D. Like the north of Norway, which also was now for the first time settled on a large scale, these colonies were established by sturdy energetic races. Besides handsome weapons and ornaments they had appliances and ships which facilitated their passage over seas river-torrents and extensive lakes. Through the thick sombre forests they could now open out the country from Upland as a centre across Södermanland, Nerike

and Vestmanland; and in general were better equipped to battle with the greater natural obstacles they had to face in the distant rugged North. As early as the time of Christ's birth, the Sviones, according to Tacitus,[10] were a strong naval power. But if these were the same people as the powerful Sveas, who afterwards ruled in Svealand and appeared in such force against the Götas to the south in Götaland, they cannot possibly in the time of Tacitus have been settled entirely in Svealand, the population of which according to the unequivocal testimony of the contemporary memorials was extremely poor and scattered. The Sveas of that time must have lived further south on the Baltic, namely on Gotland Öeland and in the modern Baltic Provinces ("the great and cold Svithiod?"[11]). From here at a later date they sallied forth fully armed and well equipped, and occupied Svealand, which takes its name from them. Secluded by their position here and in northern Norway,—the memorials of which from this time forth point clearly to a similar sudden rise and surprisingly high development of culture and power,—the new settlers had a fairer chance of retaining their old faith customs and fashions, than among the peoples further south and more exposed to steady foreign influences.

The memorials therefore confirm the statement of Snorre that the custom of cremation prevailed longer in Sweden and Norway than in Denmark. The conditions of culture and settlement in the various lands of

[10] Germ. 44.

[11] But *vide* Montelius, pp. 138-9, who understands the term of a part of Sweden.

the North again varied. In the old Danish lands, which had been more thickly populated from a remote antiquity, the memorials on the whole are somewhat different in style from those in the north of Sweden and Norway, which had been first fully settled at so late a date. What is called the Middle Iron-Age of the southern Scandinavian countries should be regarded as the real commencement of the Iron-Age in those northern regions.

As to the question how far the new people which came into the North at the time of the national migrations was really of Germanic race and consequently of the same main stock as the Gothic peoples dwelling there in earlier times, important evidence is contained in the large bog-finds from north and especially south Jutland (Slesvig) and Fÿen. The number of foreign articles in these prove satisfactorily that these new immigrants must in part have been conquered by the natives. On the other hand the graves of about that time and subsequently throughout the south of the North contain homogeneous objects, commonly in connection with a new style of burial, and show that the strangers eventually obtained the mastery.

Not to mention the inscriptions found in the bogs, which are written in the "older runes," as they are called, and composed in a Gotho-Germanic speech, we frequently meet with weapons mountings ornaments sacred signs and representations of gods exactly corresponding with the religious marks and pictures of gods previously observed in the North. But they speak of a far finer symbolism and a higher development in general. This can have been attained only by tribes which in more southern regions on the frontiers of the Roman

empire had been strongly affected by the Roman and also, we may rest assured, by the steadily growing new Christian culture. Round gold-plated objects, used to decorate a shirt of mail, have been found in the Thorsbjerg bog.[12] They show a barbarised figure of Jupiter with horned helmet (Thor ?), also heads of Thor and Thor's he-goat, with Frey's horse goose and fish. The last are riveted on the original ornament. Another large ornament with similar heads of Thor has pictures of his he-goat Frey's horse and hog and Freya's falcon hog and cat surrounded by Thjodvitner's fish, which played in the streams that surround Valhalla. The weapons throughout are mostly marked with the signs of Thor Odin or Frey. Mountings more frequently have the signs of Frey and Freya. A piece of mounting adorned with several hooked-crosses shows how the sacred marks naturally became religious ornaments. Exactly the same thing may be observed in the case of contemporary antiquities of the Anglo-Saxons in England Franks in France and Germans in Germany right down into the Danube-lands. Everywhere they are the expression of a common Germanic mythology and belief in Valhalla, which certainly came with the people from Asia. They speak also of a common Romano-barbaric culture, first developed in the districts of the Rhine and Danube, and then about the time of the national migrations scattered from central and north Germany in various directions, westwards across France to the British Isles, and northwards over the Scandinavian lands. With these vast convulsions an entirely new period begins in Europe.

[12] *Vide* "Arts," fig. 179.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MIDDLE IRON-AGE IN THE NORTH.

[a. *First Period of the Later Iron-Age, from the fall of the Western Empire in* 450 *till about* 700 A.D.]

TILL now extensive regions in the north of Sweden and Norway still remained thinly peopled by a race in every respect homogeneous with the population in the rest of the North. The inhabitants of southern Scandinavia in the Stone Bronze and early Iron-Ages had all been united on the closest terms with the neighbouring races south of the Baltic, which evidently stood on much the same level, and were nearly akin in origin. So far therefore we cannot speak of a Scandinavian population peculiar to Norway Denmark and Sweden alone. But at last at the time of the national wanderings a large part of the Gotho-Germanic peoples which previously dwelt east and south of the Baltic were driven north and west to Sweden and across Jutland and the islands to the rest of Denmark and Norway,—movements which may possibly have given rise to the ancient Northern myth of the immigration of Odin and the Anses.[1] The earlier settlements of the Northern colonists along the

[1] The editors of the Corpus Poeticum Boreale treat these traditions with unmerited contempt (vol. ii. p. 457).

Baltic were now occupied by Finnish and more especially by Slavic peoples. Not till then could a real Scandinavian people distinguished by special characteristics begin to form in the three kingdoms of the North. Henceforward the inhabitants of the North from the Gulf of Finland right across to the Elbe and east coast of Holstein became the neighbours of alien and even radically different races, chiefly Finns and Slavs. The connexion with kindred Germanic races could in future be maintained only by sea through the countries of the West or by land from the peninsula of Jutland along the old western route through the districts between the Rhine and the western plain of the Elbe. The southern portion therefore of Jutland near the Eider now gradually became the narrow pass in which the population cooped up in the North, so sharply severed from the rest of Europe and closely related to one another, had often by a life of warfare, the art of which was steadily developing, to defend their independence against the attacks of their enemies the neighbouring Slavic and Saxon races.[2] Christianity, which soon after began to make progress in the countries of the South and West, was destined at a somewhat later time to contribute yet more to isolate the heathen North and give its whole development a stamp peculiarly its own. The violent disturbances among the Germanic peoples, followed by the downfall of the Western Roman Empire (about 450), amidst those extensive fusions of peoples which succeeded the bloody struggles, laid the first foundation for the formation of

[2] Kings in the Sagas are called Eistra- Vinda- Frisa- Tota-dolgr myrthr &c., *i.e.*, Bale of the Esthonians Wends Frisians Germans &c. *Cf.* Corp. Poet. Bor., vol. ii. p. 480.

the German French and English nations, and new kingdoms were gradually constructed in Germany France and England. The same movements also account for the foundation of a separate Scandinavian nationality confined to the North, that is to Denmark Norway and Sweden. Obviously this nationality would evolve distinct characteristics according to the various conditions of the country in which it settled. We see such differences in the permanent monuments and antiquities, in names of places dialects institutions laws and other expressions of the social life in each of the three Northern lands and even in single parts of them. But in the far North split up by seas rocks and forests the conditions of nature were pre-eminently favourable to the isolation of minor tribes. The temporal power was thus for a long time divided into many small principalities or kingdoms in close connexion with the heathen system of the North. Owing to this the process of forming a nationality in Denmark Norway and Sweden, and still more in Scandinavia as a whole, must have gone on more slowly than in the countries of the West and South, where as early as the sixth and seventh centuries Christianity and the monarchies that grew out of it hastened on the development of larger states and more homogeneous nationalities with distinct characteristics.

We have already alluded to the sacred signs and images of the gods in proof of the general intercourse and in part the common culture existing among peoples in the centre west and north of Europe. Of this we have another important proof during the national migrations and immediately after. The monuments of

those times—still everywhere mostly heathen—are strikingly similar in character. The custom of burying bodies unburnt, generally in rows of graves under the earth, was adopted both by Romans and Barbarians on the Danube and Rhine as early as the third or fourth century. This was due partly to the commencement of Christian influence, and forms a sort of transition from the ancient heathen cremation with burial in mounds and open fields to the Christian form of burial in churches or church-yards. The new style now makes its appearance in south-western Germany France Belgium England and the southern lands of the North. Obviously however it could not have been adopted uniformly fully and extensively everywhere at once. Not to mention the fact that the remnant of the earlier inhabitants would resist an entire change in their ancestral mode of burial, it would appear that some even of the new conquering races (*e.g.* in Kent in England) long retained the custom of cremation and erection of barrows, while their neighbours and near kindred laid their dead in rows of graves under the earth. The further north we go on the European mainland, the narrower the gap between the new and the old, especially in the Scandinavian countries. Single skeletons under the earth—a mode of burial at first quite foreign—appear at the close of the Early Iron-Age in Bornholm Seeland Fÿen, and in Scania to some extent. In the Middle Iron-Age they are more numerous, being gathered in large burial-grounds. But in Denmark, and Jutland more especially, they did not entirely supersede the burial of burnt and unburnt corpses in barrows, *or at* times in cists built and vaulted with stone.

Still less was this the case in Norway and Sweden, where as yet no such common burial-grounds with unburnt bodies from this period have been discovered. On the other hand very remarkable grave-finds, some of them of great magnificence, appear from now onwards in the north of Norway, and in Sweden in the Mälar districts near Upsala. They even show traces that numerous burnt-offerings of various kinds of beasts were sacrificed at the time of cremation. There too the burning of bodies was to some extent gradually relinquished, especially among the more distinguished families. The custom of burying bodies in large warrior-howes, as of old, was not even then abandoned. So too another old peculiar custom continued, particularly in the far off Norway, right through the Middle Iron-Age and even later, namely that of bending or breaking a portion of the grave-goods, especially weapons. This custom is no longer to be traced in the skeleton-graves or grave-rows either in Denmark or in the south-west and west of Europe. It is also significant of the graves from this time onwards throughout the North, in marked contrast with the graves of the older periods, that we find in them riding harness—and driving harness also at a later time—along with remains of horses in increasing numbers.

But whether the graves of the Middle Age of Iron in the North and in western Europe cover burnt or unburnt bodies, all of them, until the Anglo-Saxons Franks and races of central Germany were converted and had fully adopted the Christian culture, contain remarkably uniform products of a common Germano-barbaric industry, which everywhere sprang up on the

ruins of the Roman culture, especially in the colonies nearest the Danube and Rhine, and in Gaul also, to some extent. The main types are the very same in household chattels weapons and ornaments, which are often decorated with mosaics of stone and coloured glass. Many glass goblets found in England and France on the Rhine and Danube and in the North have such a striking mutual resemblance in form and technique that possibly they issued from the same large factories. In decoration inscriptions and form many of these objects still for a long time betray a Roman style. But Roman types were also largely altered to suit German taste. That such objects were manufactured by or for Germans is evident from the constant appearance of non-Roman sacred marks and animals intimately connected with the Germanic theology.

Throughout the countries of the West the Romans must have left considerable industries among the natives. Here on the fall of the Roman Empire the conquering Germans found great wealth and considerable refinement. But this Germanic character in general did not check the growth of individual taste in various regions. This we may observe in the objects they manufactured: in many details of form and ornamentation they differ; but the traces of their common origin remain unobliterated.

Still more than in the countries previously occupied and in part civilised by the Romans the Middle Iron-Age in the Scandinavian North was introduced by a new and foreign culture. In its first beginnings the settlers north of the Baltic, who entered on the Iron-Age only at a late period, can have had no hand. For

its furtherance and development the older inhabitants of the North at first evidently lacked too many of the necessary conditions. The North therefore more than other lands and for a longer time must have been obliged to supply itself with necessaries and luxuries from abroad. But on the arrival of fresh and more advanced elements of population it began at last to develop for itself a real industry, additional proof of which is given by frequent discoveries of smithy implements. This industry was encouraged by the prosperity which had prevailed in the North from olden times, especially in the fruitful Danish lands, a prosperity fed and stimulated anew by the extraordinary wealth which streamed into these lands from all sides during the Middle Iron-Age, and which was not long restricted to the Danish lands in the south. The discoveries in graves fields and marshes point on the whole throughout the North to a growing luxury, scarcely inferior to that which prevailed at the same time in the Western lands, which the Romans had previously enriched and refined. Our surprise is great so far north of Denmark to find among the funeral stores in various skeleton-graves not only a Roman vessel of red Samian ware, as it is called, with figures in relief, but also a glass cup set in silver with a Greek inscription ("Your health" or "happiness"). Very different however was the condition of things in the regions south of the Baltic from the Elbe to the Baltic Provinces. Here right down to the Danube lands Slavic races from Russia were now settled. They possessed iron implements, it is true, but as far as we can see, brought no special development with them, and were in

no condition to adopt the half Romano-barbaric culture peculiar to the neighbouring Northern and other Germanic peoples. They appear however to have been early connected with or influenced by the Eastern Empire and its capital Byzantium or Constantinople. Many of the lands they occupied show traces about the sixth century of a definite though limited connexion or intercourse with the Byzantine Empire, traces of which are also to be observed in the high North.

For the first time therefore in the North besides West-Roman coins East-Roman or Byzantine coins appear.[3] Naturally some time must have elapsed after they were minted ere they were brought up to the Baltic along the Oder and Vistula. Here they are found most frequently in the islands of Bornholm Öeland and Gotland, in eastern Sweden Scania Seeland and Fÿen, less frequently in Jutland, and still more rarely in Norway. In general they served in the North rather as ornaments for neck and breast than as money. As a rule therefore they are pierced and fitted with small hooks. With them we also find a peculiar kind of valuable gold trinkets manufactured in the North, as well as abroad, namely heavy rings composed of two or even more rows for the neck arms and fingers, brooches breast ornaments or bracteates sword-mountings &c., occasionally in large hoards of gold mingled with fragments of valuable gold rings gold

[3] "Solidi" from the "First Period of the Later Iron-Age" (4th to 8th cent.) have been found in Sweden to the number of 260, more than 200 of them in Öeland and Gotland. O. Montelius, p. 121. Gold coins have been discovered in only two Norwegian finds. O. Rygh, Norske Oldsager, No. 286.

bars and beads of gold and mosaic. Such a find for instance at Broholm[4] in Fyen amounts to over eight pounds,[1] at Gallehus to nearly fourteen, and near Trosa[5] in Södermanland Sweden to as many as twenty-nine pounds weight of gold. The coins first minted at Byzantium in the fifth and sixth centuries as well as many of the peculiar imitations of Roman coins found along with them, the so-called gold bracteates, which mark the commencement of a Northern style, point to a somewhat later period of the Middle Age of Iron, most probably from the close of the sixth till the end of the seventh century. Strangely enough it would appear that the introduction of Byzantine gold coins into the North soon again ceased. Of the coins minted in Byzantium during the whole period between 580 and 850 or thereabouts none, so far as is yet known, reached the North except in chance connexion with treasures of a much later date. To an earlier period of the Middle Iron-Age, perhaps even from its commencement in the middle of the fifth century, belongs a not inconsiderable gold hoard dug up at Brangstrup in Fyen. It consisted of coins trinkets and large pieces of ring-gold alloyed with silver, but contained only West-Roman gold coins used as hanging ornaments.[6] In general such large gold hoards in the North point specially to the Middle Age of Iron. In the following Viking-times they are usually succeeded by similar hoards of silver. With the coins they point to the

[4] In 1832. [5] In 1774.

[6] 45 coins from 241 A.D. (Trajan Decius) to 352 (Constantine the Great); also one barbaric imitation of a coin of Constantine the Great.

Eastern as well as to the Western Empire, on the borderlands of which the barbaric peoples at the time of the national migrations produced such vast disturbances. Many indeed of the largest ornaments and hoards of gold must have belonged to temples. But it is very doubtful how far the gold objects, so much more costly then than now, can have been brought into the North, and to Sweden to the extent of nearly thirty pounds weight, by trade and peaceful intercourse alone during times of disturbances which must have lasted long after the national migrations had ceased. Besides the Trosa find many other large gold hoards, especially of heavy and broad gold rings, have been discovered in the north and east of Sweden. In Öeland and Gotland, which soon became important marts, it must have been easier to acquire wealth. But in north Sweden, which was only fully settled at the beginning of the Middle Iron-Age, the country was hardly yet rich enough in objects of export, to procure such an astonishing wealth of gold. More probably bold warlike adventurers, who were sprung from the later and occasionally perhaps from the older population of Sweden and the North generally, served in foreign armies, especially the Roman, or joined the expeditions and raids of Barbarians on the frontiers of the Roman Empire and elsewhere, and thus laid the foundations of this surprising wealth, which may afterwards have been increased by trade and other means. That such was probably the case may be inferred from the fact that in these hoards we find foreign objects mingled with others distinctly native. On the whole in gold ornaments and rich treasure of gold the Middle Iron-Age not only surpasses previous ages, but also the

subsequent Viking-period, which has hitherto been regarded as the richest. In this respect one might well name this period the Golden Age of the North.

But not only with the Byzantine Empire, which had long been Christian, did the heathen North come into contact. It must have had intercourse with other lands nearer home and later to receive Christianity. This was specially the case towards the end of this period. As early as the fourth century the new faith was spread among the Goths on the Danube.[7] These can hardly have been severed from all intercourse with the kindred Goths on the Baltic. In the fifth century the Burgundians on the Rhine were baptized. In the sixth and seventh Christendom advanced victoriously in France and England. To the south the heathen North had a strong bulwark against Christendom in the far-stretching lands of the heathen Slavs. But to east and west it became more and more exposed to a variety of Christian influences. Of this there are evident signs: besides Byzantine gold coins dating from the fifth or sixth centuries small gold plates have been found in Bornholm with barbaric representations of the Apostles, angels in deacons' robes, bishops or abbots, the crucifix, Mary and John, &c.

[7] It is not improbable that it began here as early as the Gothic invasion in 268. Dionysius of Rome (259–269) wrote a letter to the Church of Cæsarea 'begging for subscriptions towards the ransom of Christian Cappadocians. The letter was read publicly in the churches as late as the fourth century. Every soldier in the campaign of Claudius after the battle of Naissus (270) received three Gothic women as his share of the spoil. (Gibbon, c. xi.) Ulfilas was made bishop of the trans-Danubian Goths in 348; d. 388. Gibbon's account of the ancient Germans (c. ix.) is very unsatisfactory, as the reader will observe, on comparing it with any modern work on their antiquities.

The Brangstrup find in Fÿen along with West-Roman coins struck at the close of the fourth century contains a whole series of ornamental pendants with barbarised Christian figures, and among others without doubt that of Christ Himself.

Many other objects have been discovered in bogs and fields as well as in skeleton-graves from the close of the Early Iron-Age and from the Middle Iron-Age in Denmark, as for instance an angel of gold in deacon's robes an armlet with Christian symbols a ball of crystal a jewel carved with Christian Gnostic inscriptions in Greek ("Ablanathanalba," *i.e.*, Thou art our Father) brooches mountings with barbarised semi-Christian ornaments, known also in other countries, and many others. These all presuppose considerable connexions in early times between Denmark and Christian countries to the south-east and south-west.

Strangely enough during the whole of the Iron-Age prior to the beginning of the Viking-times mentioned in history (770–800 A.D.) it has hitherto proved impossible to point to any close intercourse with England or any direct influence thence. This would seem to indicate a condition of downright hostility between the Germanic peoples in England and their near kinsfolk in Denmark.

Traces have been found to show that the south-west coasts of Norway carried on a lively traffic with the Anglo-Saxons at an earlier time and to a greater degree than the Danish lands. From them they received various objects, especially trinkets, the half heathen half Christian representations and ornaments of which were subsequently imitated in Norway. Other finds

in Norway, especially early Anglo-Saxon coins from the ninth century, which have never yet been dug up in Denmark,[8] prove that this connexion with the Anglo-Saxons must have lasted even till later times; nay, to judge by discoveries in Sweden, the Anglo-Saxon influence must have been felt in Sweden early, at all events sooner than in Denmark. Thus a peaceful intercourse with the West, which certainly began before 700 A.D., had evidently prepared the way not merely for the Viking expeditions from Norway to the British Isles but also for the subsequent introduction of Christianity from the West into Norway and Sweden. Denmark on the other hand was invaded by Christianity along the ancient trade routes with the continent, that is from north Germany across the peninsula of Jutland. It is true no doubt that a few Christian and half Christian objects might easily have been brought in by trade or warfare. In themselves however they are not sufficient to prove that a wider Christian influence was then perceptible among the Danes or northern population. But the new fashion of burying corpses unburnt, sometimes in common grave-yards, which was prevalent in the Middle Iron-Age, at least among the more powerful families, points more probably to an originally Christian influence from the Rhine and Danube. In contents also some of these graves in Denmark (*e.g.*, at Nestelsö in Seeland, and at Aarslev in Fÿen) suggest comparison with

[8] Of 1600 silver coins found at Aarstad (Stavanger Amt), and dating from the 9th to the 11th century, most are Anglo-Saxon mixed with German Swedish Bohemian and Cufic coins. One found at Fjaere, Nedenes, of King Eanred of Northumbria (?) 808–840 (O. Rygh, Norske Oldsager, No. 480); one, at Bukerud, of King Cynewulf of Mercia, 796–818.

graves abroad which were certainly Christian. It is not improbable that Christian ideas were not unfamiliar to some of the southern traders to Denmark and the North, and some even of the new settlers, who with the older runes introduced a written language developed in the south among peoples early affected by Christianity. They may for instance have at one time dwelt near Christian peoples, or served with Christian comrades in the armies of Rome. Some such fact is indicated by two small mountings found at Vimose in Fÿen. They are decorated with heads strikingly like the oldest Byzantine representations of Christ. Whether these are intended to denote the head of the god Thor or no, a head of Christ, as on a figure found at Brangstrup, appears to have been the model.

The introduction of a written language, which marks the commencement of a higher development, shows that the more cultured of the people in spiritual matters had reached a standpoint which rendered them highly susceptible to various kinds of influence and progress. About the seventh century the inhabitants of the North, especially the Danes, entered into closer relations with Christian peoples to the south and west by trading expeditions and otherwise. At home too they began to form larger marts or "chapping" stations,[9] generally near or under the shelter of royal or princely strongholds. Here foreign merchants ("chapmen") occasionally met, and sometimes perhaps even settled down. The more this happened, the more

[9] Kjöbenhavn = Cheaping Haven. Cf. also *Nyköping* (= Newmarket) and a score of other names. So *Cheapside*, where the *chap*men *chaffered*. *Vide* Cleasby, Icel-Eng. Dict., under the words Kaupangr and Kaupmathr.

would the knowledge of Christianity and its truths help to weaken and undermine heathenism. This would specially be the case in the southern parts of the North. The steadily increasing stream of culture from Christian lands must have widened the difference which was evidently growing throughout the whole Middle Iron-Age between the monuments in the old Danish lands and in the higher North. About this time, as we have already seen, a violent ferment between old and new ideas appears in Denmark, where in consequence we seldom or never find, as in more southern countries, grave-chambers built of stone or wood in earth-mounds surrounded with stones in circles or squares and adorned with high "Bauta-stones." Most of the hoard-finds in Denmark have been obtained from burial-grounds on natural slopes, which contain unburnt as well as burnt bodies, or from fields and bogs, where costly brooches bracteates rings beads and other ornaments were deposited as treasure laid by. In Norway and Sweden on the other hand people continued at this time much more extensively to raise stone-encircled barrows, in the old heathen way, both with and without grave-chambers. Huge Bauta-stones, at times inscribed with runes, were erected either in the barrow or on the outside. In ancient Denmark (including Scania), though rune-inscriptions on scattered objects of smaller size are by no means rare, not a single rune-stone with a complete inscription in the early character is yet known, similar to those that extend from Blekinge and Bohuslehn up to the north of Sweden and Norway. Not even in Bornholm, the monuments of which otherwise show a strong like-

ness to those of the adjacent Blekinge, have upright stones with rune-writing been as yet discovered, though here, unlike the rest of Denmark, Bauta-stones are common. These striking differences between the monuments in various regions of the North are doubly important for a clearer understanding hereafter of the combinations of old and new—though kindred—elements of race, which varied in each district. In fact these older runes, whether inscribed on smaller loose-lying objects in Denmark and the rest of the North, or on rune-stones in Sweden and Norway, prove that in spite of all minor differences of dialect the language was not merely in the main the same for all three countries, but had even then begun to develop a Northern character quite distinct from kindred languages to the south.

Along with the rise of these peculiarities of language in the North and in harmony with it a fuller development of the native metal industry and a more independent Northern style begin to appear, especially towards the end of the Middle Iron-Age. But in comparing this with the peculiar and unusually high standard adopted by the North in the Ages of Stone and Bronze we are naturally surprised that in the Iron-Age many centuries should elapse before a distinctive Northern industry or taste were in a fair way to thrive. This is a fresh and eloquent proof of the strength of the Romano-barbaric culture, as well as of the natural disturbances which produced the change. The storm had first to subside and the long tide of wandering to ebb, ere the population in the various districts of the *far North* could settle down in peace. Till then, like

other European peoples in much the same predicament at that time, they had to content themselves with imported weapons implements and ornaments. Gradually they began to imitate and transform the imported models, which were sometimes of mixed Roman and barbaric, sometimes of Christian or barbarised Christian origin. Only in details of form and ornamentation were they in a position to develop any distinct characteristic style of work in metal stone bone wood &c. And even then they undoubtedly worked on a common basis, which was originally foreign Germano-barbaric and to some extent also Christian. Not only had they still to import gold silver copper zinc and lead, but even iron too in part, the rich iron mines of the North not being really worked till the Christian middle ages. During the whole of the Iron-Age they were obliged to smelt iron from the bog-ore found in marshes and lakes throughout the North. This being unsuitable for casting, all objects of iron were wrought. Thus even the iron vessels were throughout the Iron-Age constructed of small wrought-iron plates riveted together. In the Bronze-Age the art of casting was general, and had been carried to a marvellous pitch of perfection. But iron-casting was entirely unknown in the North and elsewhere not only in heathen times but right down into the Christian middle ages. In Germany, where iron is plentiful, and the development of culture regularly preceded that of the North, this art was not rightly understood till the commencement of the fifteenth century.

That the first beginnings of a more specially Northern style sprang from the Romano-barbaric tendency of art,

which during the times of the national migrations came in through north Germany from the regions of the Rhine and Danube, receives remarkable confirmation from the fact that the antiquities of the Middle Iron-Age are purer in style, the nearer they lie to those times, becoming more and more barbarised and affected by foreign models as time went on. Meantime, in comparison with the fainter traces left from the Earlier Iron and Bronze-Ages, it is conspicuously evident during the whole of the Middle Iron-Age that the figurative representations and ornaments did in fact originate in a religious symbolism developed in the south from the sacred symbols and marks used to designate the various Germanic deities. We see this most obviously on the gold bracteates, and on the two large golden horns found at Gallehus near Mögeltönder in North Slesvig. A description of these will serve more clearly to explain the representations on other antiquities and monuments of this period.

It is well known that the gold pendants or "bracteates," as they are called, some of which are very large, are nowhere so numerous or so widespread as in the Scandinavian North, where they played an important part for several centuries. But it is just as certain that they can no longer be regarded as originally Scandinavian or even North European. Like the earlier runes, we can in fact trace them through distinct types with their characteristic peculiarities across England and north Germany southwards right down to the Danube-lands. But no sooner were they introduced into the North than they began to be manufactured and developed in a manner so peculiar that even within these

limits they show certain evident differences of type in Denmark Norway and Sweden. In the last two countries gold bracteates appear on the whole to have remained longest in use.

For a long time the Gauls in France had imitated Greek or Roman coins, adapting the images of princes and gods upon them to their own national circumstances temporal or spiritual. Such was also the case among the neighbouring Germanic peoples, especially during the times of the Roman Emperors;—but with this difference: the Germans did not actually use their imitations (usually struck on one side only) of the West- and East-Roman coins as money. They enriched most of them with a pretty ornamental rim furnished with a dainty loop, and wore them, generally in whole rows divided by beads of gold &c. as ornaments for the neck or breast. In the same way they adorned themselves with coins, particularly such as reminded them most of their own gods. For their imitations they selected the coins that lent themselves most readily to their purpose. It was important to give the intended pendant the stamp of their own Germanic religion, and thus to make it serve both as ornament and protecting amulet. The bracteates therefore are frequently provided with peculiar mystic rune-inscriptions in the early character. These inscriptions have not yet been rightly deciphered, excepting only the series of runes or letters. But even at that time they must certainly have had a symbolic meaning. At all events the series of the later runes was used quite into the Middle Ages on ecclesiastical objects and grave-stones, evidently with a symbolic purpose.

Almost all the gold bracteates as yet found in the Scandinavian North and elsewhere represent either the old Germanic gods with their various marks and signs, or else these sacred marks and signs alone. Among the gods of the Germanic peoples, as of most others, the god of thunder, Thor, was evidently of prime importance. Nor was he less so in the North. The historian Adam of Bremen[10] informs us at the close of the eleventh century that in the famous temple at Upsala, which was the chief sanctuary for the whole of southern Sweden, Odin Thor and Frey were to be seen seated on high, the last with a large symbol of fertility. Similarly the same three gods are represented in a distinct border or frame on a rune-stone at Sanda in Gotland dating from the last period of heathenism:—Odin with his spear Gungner, Thor in the centre, and Frey overshadowed by his sacred bird the goose (specially reverenced in India). In Chaldæa Persia India and Gaul a trinity triad or kind of tri-unity of the higher deities appears on monuments and coins alike. In the North this is seen still more clearly in the Middle Iron-Age than in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. And in more southern Germanic lands the same tri-unity can be shown still earlier. In the Scandinavian North during the period mentioned not only is Thor himself figured on certain gold bracteates between Odin and Frey (figs. 6, 7), as also on many glass-pastes found here and elsewhere, but the mark of the trinity—a

[10] Author of Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ Pontificum, in four books; a history down to 1075. Some of his information was derived direct from the Danish king Sven Ulfsön. His authority (in spite of the Editors of the Corpus Poeticum Boreale) is valuable, though not *always* trustworthy. *Vide* Munch Hist., Fortale, p. x. (1 Deel. 1 Bind.)

triangle,—and the triangular ornaments unmistakably formed from it are specially significant of Thor the central and chief person of the triad. As in the Gallic theology, other triads also appear in the Northern,—*e.g.* Odin Vili and Ve;—Odin Höner and Lodir. But clearly supreme importance was attached to the triad Odin Thor and Frey, increasing, as these gods under foreign (classic-Christian?) influence became more and more fused into an external and certainly also internal unity. The marks of the triad therefore—generally three pellets in a triangle with the appropriate triangular ornamenta-

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

tion—appear very frequently both on the bracteates,—even when, as generally, only a single deity is portrayed,—and on many other objects besides.

Thor thus incontestibly takes the first place on the gold bracteates generally, as well as on the largest and finest specimens, even when he is represented alone. His proper marks or signs, besides the triangle,—the mark of the trinity in general,—are the hooked cross ("Swastika" or "fylfoot") the hammer sign and a head generally helmed and with or without a beard. Certain exactly corresponding ornaments were attached to these, at all events at that time. Like Juppiter

Dolichenus the classic god of thunder his special attributes are the bull and eagle (figs. 8, 9, 10, 11); also the he-goat snake (usually two—the Fenris-wolf and

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

the Worm of Midgarth?) and the lightning flash. As one who pours out fertility on the earth with light*ning,* he is at times portrayed with the special god of

fertility Frey "the Skipper of the Air," who next

Fig. 11.

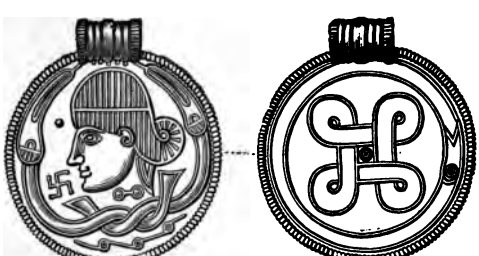

Fig. 12.

to Thor appears most frequently on the bracteates.

The marks indicative of Frey individually are now more prominent. With the exception of the cross, which perhaps, like the sacred symbols in general,

Fig. 13.

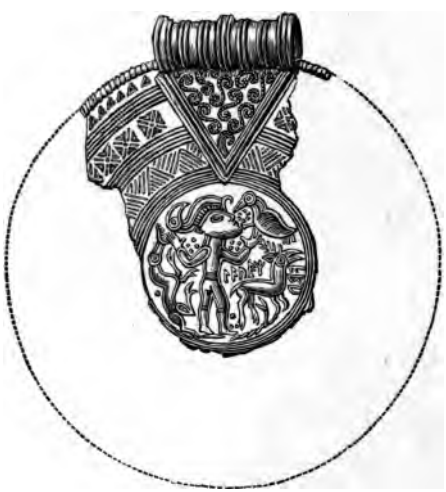

Fig. 14.

originally arose from a combination of the tokens of fertility, they have direct reference to the cultivation of the earth, and are namely the sickle and pitchfork. In striking similarity to undoubted images of gods in

India and Gaul, Frey appears to have been depicted on a number of bracteates as seated with his legs bent in under him. His hand with outstretched thumb is known to be a special mark of virility.[11] Among his other attributes are the sheaf of ears, or corn, the goose the hog the horse the stag (fig. 14), — the antlers of which remind us by their recurrent growth of nature's perpetual renewal,—and finally his clinker-built ship of the Air Skithladnir (fig. 15), so ingeniously con-

Fig. 15.

trived, we are told, that it could hold all the gods, and yet be carried in a pouch. The ornaments of Frey consist of the square formed of the four-armed cross in rich variety, also the sickle and plaited blades or ears of corn.

Just as Thor is represented by the side of Frey, so Frey is now and then placed with Freya the goddess of love and fertility. Besides the hawk the cat and the hog, which are seen upon other contemporary orna-

[11] "Arts," fig. 149.

ments, Freya's chief attribute on the bracteates is her brooch the Brisingamen. Her sign, which strongly recalls the Indian symbol of fertility Linga and Yoni, is a round dot enclosed in one or more circles, the outermost often developed in the form of a star (Freya's Star). As in the preceding signs, Freya's circle-ornaments are composed entirely of this particular sign. As a special mark of her sex presumably, this sign appears with a human foot attached to it. Many of the bracteates, especially those with pictures of Frey and Freya, distinctly hint at a worship in the North, as in most other lands in ancient times, of the symbols of fertility. This confirms and agrees with Adam of Bremen's later accounts of what passed at the great sacrificial festivals in Upsala.

Freya's mark, as indicating the Source of all things, is also frequently contained in the middle of Odin the All-father's three-armed cross or triskele. The marks and the ornaments arising from it, with which some peculiar spiral ornaments are possibly connected, is found almost universally among the other marks and ornaments on the bracteates. But undoubted pictures of Odin himself, especially of him alone, are extremely rare. He appears in fact distinctly only on one bracteate, which was found in Norway (fig. 16). Here he is mounted on Sleipner and fully armed, fighting his last battle on the Last Day (Ragnarok) with the Fenris-wolf and the Worm of Midgarth. The same struggle between Odin and the Fenris-wolf is depicted on a

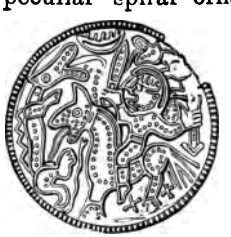

Fig. 16.

bronze plate from the close of the Middle Iron-Age found in Öeland.[12] Odin is here on foot with a golden helm fitted with large horns and ear-lappets. Over his shoulder he has the gold ring Dröpner, round his waist a double ring, by his side a sword, and in each hand a spear. Three plates found with this represent Thor, with his axe and he-goat, arming himself for battle, Frey with a hog on his helmet, also with sword and lance, and Tyr fighting, like Odin, his last contest before Ragnarok with a sword in each hand against a couple of wolves or hounds, one of which he kills, but, according to the Edda, is slain by the other. Some bracteates discovered in Denmark also show us a man armed with helm and sword, most probably Tyr again, fighting the same doubtful battle with two figures of beasts.

Other gold ornaments give pictures of the goddess Hel with dishevelled hair, her hand on the door to the Under-world, along with the Fenris-wolf and many monsters; also pictures partly of man's creation from a tree, with which is seen Freya's mark and other symbols of fertility, partly of the Ash Yggdrasil,[13] surrounded by rich cruciform interlacings, denoting that the boughs of the tree reach from earth to heaven. This also has the sacred signs of Odin Frey Freya and the trinity.

Similar signs, especially Frey's sickle-mark with dots punched on it, appear on the large rings and other gold trinkets which are frequently found in connexion with gold bracteates, hidden away, like the large buried treasures of the Bronze and Stone-Ages in bogs or fields,

[12] In Volospá it is Odin's son Thor who fights the Worm.

[13] Volospá, i. 44. The whole poem should be read in this connexion.

some of them under huge stones. "Man's consideration in life depended on his wealth: the poor Odin received not into Valhalla. Accordingly much of the riches gained in Viking expeditions was not used in this life, but buried in the earth, to be used yonder. The hero hid his treasure in a hole or sunk it in a spring, in some place where neither he nor any one else could come at it. The thralls who assisted in this were killed, either because dead men tell no tales, or more probably that the treasure might be watched by their souls. Such store gained by 'Viking' was not therefore to be reckoned as inheritance, nor could sons receive it after their fathers. They were bound to deposit it with them in the howe. When the man's own gains were inadequate, or men were minded so to honour the dead, they went round the funeral pile, as at Harald Hildetand's burial, and laid gold and other precious things thereon." [14] In complete agreement with this the gold bracteates and larger ornaments of gold with pictures of the gods and sacred signs which had been worn as protecting amulets, like the Thor's hammers in the latest Iron-Age, are very seldom found in graves, especially in Denmark, but almost always in the hoards deposited in bogs and fields, most probably by way of offering. Similar mysterious deposits were also made in the classic countries in honour of the gods and in the hope of their favour, as inscriptions on them show.[15] Not

[14] N. M. Petersen: Danmark's Historie i Hedenold. Kbnhvn., 1837, iii. 467, 468.

[15] This custom prevailed in Gaul Cæs. B. G. vi. 16, 17. Gregory of Tours describes them as occurring as late as the seventh century (in Department Lozére). Traces of it are also found in Switzerland Britain and Ireland. *Vide* author's notes in Slesvig's Oldtidsminder, pp. 57–62.

without grounds has it been remarked that the various animals depicted on the bracteates, usually led by a bridle or string, may represent, as in the classic South, the beasts decked for sacrifice, which were particularly consecrated to the various gods, and that the bracteates in general which have such representations may have had some connexion with the great sacrificial feasts which were regularly held throughout the North. In what degree the belief in the gods accompanied the heathen Northman in life as in death may be inferred also from the sacred signs, especially marks of Odin and the trinity—Thor Frey and Freya—with which his weapons ornaments household-gear grave-store and not least the funeral urns, which concealed his dust, were consecrated to the gods.

According to the new and clear light which the historical representations of the Golden Horns evidently cast on the state of religion both in Denmark and in the rest of the North during the Middle Age of Iron, it can scarcely any longer be doubted that this early period was not only in material but also in spiritual respects a Golden Age for the whole of the North.[16]

These two large golden horns, which date from about the close of the fifth century, or at latest from the sixth century, were found in the years 1639 and 1734, at a distance of three and a half paces from one another, in the extreme north-west of south Jutland (Slesvig) at the country town of Gallehus, near Mögeltönder. Their value has been reckoned in modern money

[16] Cf. the description which follows with that published somewhat later in the "Arts," pp. 175–185. Except that the author is there more explicit in tracing the ancient Scandinavian beliefs to nature-worship, he has made little material alteration in his explanation.

at over £900, but originally, according to the far

Fig. 17.

higher price of gold in olden times, were probably

worth nearly six times as much. Unfortunately they were stolen and melted down in the year 1802. The one, a complete horn, weighed 6 lb. 6½ oz. (Danish) and was 2 ft. 9 in. long. The other, with the smaller end broken off, had a length of 1 ft. 9 in. only. Notwithstanding this it weighed about 7 lb. 7 oz. Round its broadest end was an inscription in early runes.

To judge by the form of these horns the single opening in the end of each and the quality of the gold, which for the sake of the sound was harder in the solid part of the horns inside than in the exterior loose rings encircling them, they must have been used for wind-instruments, probably at sacrificial feasts in a temple, which once lay in the neighbourhood according to ancient local traditions. Under any circumstances they must both have had a religious purpose as gift-offerings or decorations for idols. This is proved by the numerous figures stars and ornaments upon them, partly riveted cast or wrought, partly engraved and hammered in with punches. Together they constitute a most extraordinary series.

The complete horn (found in 1639) represents life in the snake-covered Helheim deep down in the Underworld. The incomplete horn on the other hand represents life in the star-spangled Valhalla high up in the heavens. But the common subject of both is evidently to depict the three great misdeeds of Loke and more particularly the death of the gentle radiant god Balder, caused by Loke's guilt. As far back as written records reach, this particular myth—the struggle between light and darkness—summer and winter—good and evil—formed the groundwork of Northern theology. Heavy

forebodings of the impending doom of Balder the beloved of all went, we are told, throughout Valhalla. The Anses took an oath of all things living and lifeless that they would not hurt Balder. His father Odin alone continued to fear. Mounting Sleipner he rode to Helheim, where he found the mead already brewed and the benches strewn with coats of ring-mail, as he surmised, fitly to receive the awaited Balder. Odin gave himself out to be Vegtam,[17] and with his magic spell called Vala the sibyl, "Mother of Monsters three," from her grave that dripped with snow and dew. But the Vala recognised Odin as "the Ancient Lord," and foretold to him Balder's certain death from the fatal bough of mistletoe. "Ride thou now home, Odin," she added, "and glory in thy journey. But never again shall man come to visit me, ere Loke break loose from his bonds."

Among the numerous figures on these horns only the three chief persons in the myth of Balder—Loke Balder and Hel—are represented in one and the same peculiar manner, that is, either symbolically:—Loke as a serpent or salmon (betokening suppleness sensuality and wickedness), Balder thrice as a hind or a hind with its fawn (emblem of gentleness and innocence), and Hel as a serpent or wolf; or again in human or semi-human form:—Loke as a man or a four-footed beast with human head, Balder as a god in human form with a helm kirtle and a thick neck-ring, and Hel as a woman with a girdle and holding a large knife in her hand.

The words of the rune-inscription on the horn found

[17] Way-wise (Ζευς ὁδιος). The whole passage is a free rendering of *Balder's Doom* (C.P.B., vol. i. p. 181 ff).

in 1734 are divided distinctly by points. They are

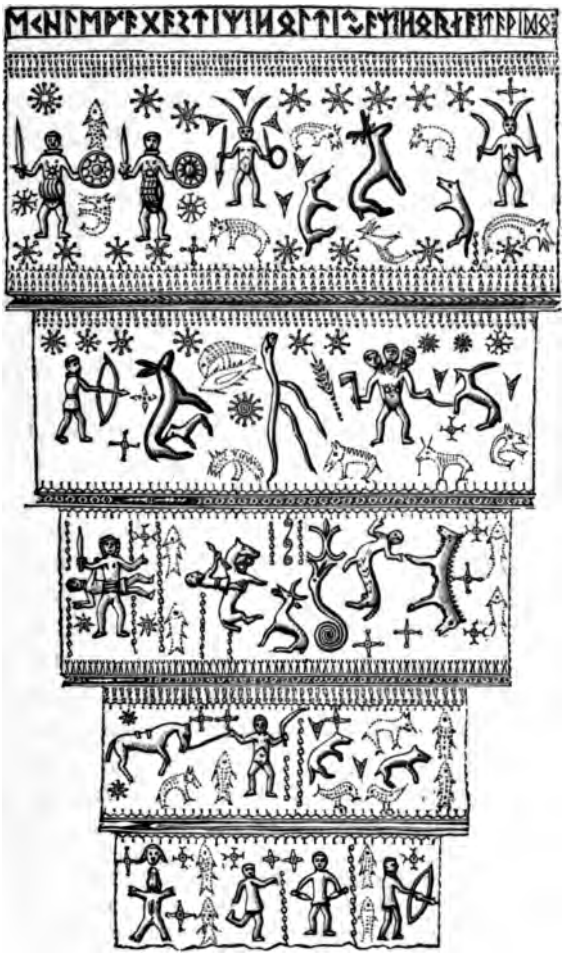

Fig. 18.

written in an ancient form of Norse, and give the

maker's name. We may therefore conjecture that the horn was of native workmanship. Under this in the middle of the broadest ring and in the highest Valhalla stands the Source of runes and all things—Odin the All-father. He wears a horned helmet with horns and ear-lappets, just as on the bronze plate found in Öeland. Round his body is a broad quadrangular ring tapering to a point at the sides, of the same form as a large body-belt of gold alloyed with silver found in Denmark, and presumably intended for an idol.[18] In his right hand he holds the spear Gungner and in his left the gold ring Dröpner and a sceptre. His sacred symbol the triskele with the mark of Freya in the midst is thrice repeated round his head. Under him is the boar Saehrimner. On his right between two stars formed of Frigg's mark ("Frigg's wheel" or Orion's belt) are seen two Einherier or possibly Valkyries armed for battle with helmet neck-ring and sword, and with Freya's mark or star-ornament on their shields and garments. To the left—again with two of the above-mentioned marks of Odin—are represented his two wolves Gere and Freke, between them the stag Eykthyrnir, and under these the goat Heidrun, from whose udder flowed the mead for the drinking-bouts of the Einherier.[19]

On the extreme left of Odin stands the god Frey.

[18] As regards the railings and doors of Helheim, and particularly the dress of the gods,—among them of Odin and his son Balder,—the latest and least accurate pictures of the Horns, which were made long after the loss of the Horns in 1802, are everywhere here amended according to the oldest and apparently most correct drawings of the same. In passing we may refer to the pictures in E. Müller's Prisskrift om Guldhornerne. Kbnhvn., 1806, 4to. J. J. A. W.

[19] *Ein*herier, the Chosen or Elect.

Round his body is a broad ring; in his right hand he holds a sickle, in his left a sceptre. Between the horns of his helmet appears his mark the cross, and under him his sacred hog Gullinbörste or "Sharp-tusk." Among his attributes we may also reckon, as on other parts of the horn, the fish and hog engraved between the Einherier or Valkyries. The stars around are all formed from the sacred signs.

The next ring, which comprises Valhalla proper, represents Thor the third and chief god. But here, just as on numerous nearly contemporaneous three-headed images of triads among the Gauls, and corresponding three-headed idols in India, he is represented as a distinct triad or triune deity with three heads on one body. Round each neck is the mark of trinity, a triangle. He has also two signs of Freya, and beyond doubt is represented with a mark of virility or symbol of fertility. A little rough three-headed figure in bronze from about the same time was once found in Bornholm, and also doubtless represents a deity. The mark of Odin and Saehrimner on the left and Frey's sceptre of ears of corn and his hog on the right show that Thor occupies the middle and chief place. In his left hand he holds a he-goat, under which another is engraved,—the goats he drove in his rolling thunder-car. In his right he grasps his axe or hammer.

After the three chief gods follows Loke the evil spirit of Valhalla and a pictorial representation of his three greatest misdeeds. He is symbolised by a huge snake with Idun's apple in its mouth. With him are two youths (Valé and Narfé). The snake with the apple reminds us involuntarily of the Christian representation

of the serpent and the apple in Paradise. His theft of Idun and the apple is indicated more clearly by the giant Thiasse, transformed into an eagle, which is pecking at Loke, turned into a salmon. The unusually large star (Freya's star) placed, contrary to custom, in the centre of the ring, facing a hog (Freya's Gullinbörste), and by the side of the largest snake, certainly indicates Loke's theft of Freya's necklace the Brisingamen. So too the archer provided like a god with helmet neck- and waist-rings, who is aiming at a hind very prominent with its fawn near a very singular symbol (a cross with angles over the arms), is doubtless meant to denote a god. This naturally refers to Loke's last and greatest misdeed, the slaughter of Balder the god of gentleness, shot by the blind Höd unwittingly. Speaking generally, the mark and hind, which typify Balder, have their counterpart in the Christian symbolism developed at this time on an oriental-classic basis, which represents Christ sometimes by a hart a lamb or a fish, and sometimes by a sacred mark. Balder is here denoted by a hind or female beast. So too Loke, Balder's real "bane-man,"[20] is represented in the Northern mythology as a cow, and even as a woman,—since he begat his monstrous wolf-children down in the earth with Gygen, or the giantess Angerbode.[21] With Balder the picture of the high Valhalla closes. Its special significance as the heavenly home of the gods is brought out strongly by the rows of stars, which are unusually rich, as compared with the other rings of the horn. And generally, these in themselves as early as the

[20] "Bane-man"—applied to Höd in Doom 40.

[21] C. P. B., vol. i. 104, cf. p. 206.

Asiatic and classic olden times were used in pictorial representations as distinctive signs of divinity.

On the next ring therefore we see the gate of Valhalla with the head of a beast (the horse) carved on each side and a spiked lattice (on the top). The fishes which follow are in pairs one above another on the outsides of the ring. These denote the stream round Valhalla, in which Thjodvitner's fish sported. Outside the gate stands a horse with human head, or Centaur, one of the Bjergriser ("Mountain-Giants"), who always threatened Valhalla. Wherefore Thor kept constant watch over them with his hammer. Further we see the ash-tree Yggdrasil, to reach which Thor, when the gods held council ("Thing") there, had to wade over nine streams. Under the ash is the serpent Nidhög, which lay at its roots; and lastly the stag which stood by Yggdrasil, and perpetually nibbled off its twigs.

The scene now returns to the myth of Balder's death and burial, to the sorrowing of the gods and Hermod's mission to Hel on Odin's horse Sleipner, to procure Balder's liberation. Hermod is returning from Hel unsuccessful. He is armed with a spear and mounted on Sleipner. Under the horse's head are two coiled rings of gold, namely Dröpner, laid on Balder's pyre by Odin, and a ring which Balder and his bride Nanna in the Hall of Hel gave Hermod, to bring back to Odin and the goddess Fulla. Behind Hermod is the bridge Bifrost with Frigg's (the Earth's) mark and with a star (Odin's star), the mark of the heavens, signifying that the rainbow Bifrost is a bridge between Earth and Heaven. Near Bifrost begins the funeral of Balder, at which the gods and goddesses, according to the

Edda, were present in full procession with all their beasts.

Next to Bifrost in the centre of the horn and distinguished by a frame of special marks Odin is seen with Balder. Odin wears a helmet with ear-lappets and a ring round his body. In his hand he holds a sword, with which he is often represented, *e.g.*, on the Öeland bronze plate mentioned above. He is standing between two stars. Behind him we recognise his dead son Balder, who is laid out in kirtle neck-ring and helmet. Probably the thin end of the horn now broken off contained the actual beginning of this picture-writing. Odin here must therefore be considered as ending the funeral ceremonies. He is forced to yield his son to Hel. In natural connexion with this the mission of Hermod to Hel on Sleipner is also represented by the side of Odin and Balder.

Under this on the next ring with a star and two triskeles follow the animals sacred to Odin,—his wolves Gere and Freke,[22] his ravens Hugin and Hunin,[23] and the hog Saehrimner. Next under two of his marks comes Frey the god of the earth and navigation. In his left hand he holds his sickle; with his right he is leading his horse saddled: between them are a fish and the hog Gullinbörste.

On the last ring, with the marks of Balder's mother, Frigg, and Frey, the god Höd is represented with the hind lying at full length shot. In its belly is a gaping wound. Over this is a woman's head with long plaited locks—Nanna doubtless, who followed her husband Balder in death. There was in fact a general belief in

[22] "Greedy" and "Fierce." [23] "Thought" and "Mind."

olden times that, when the widow followed her husband in death, the heavy gate of Helheim could not strike him on the heel.[24] After this is seen a man in the act of kicking or running,—either Thor, who, according to the Edda, kicked the dwarf Litr into Balder's pyre, or perhaps the skater Uller. Lastly Tyr is represented, as on the bronze plate from Öeland, previously referred to, with a sword or dagger in each hand. The rest of the procession of gods is lost with the thin end broken off the horn.

The ornaments on the places where the rings fitted together are: a coiled serpent (the Worm of Midgarth) between the smallest rings, the triangle (signifying the trinity) between the two rings in the middle, and between the largest rings plaited work (Frey's ear of corn?) All the minor ornaments on the horn are composed in part of Frey's mark, but interspersed with the marks of Frigg and her son Balder.

So too the fine ornaments on the other horn (found in 1639) prove the great importance of the representations of Balder common to both horns. In the same way therefore they are formed solely from the marks of Balder, who has now descended from Valhalla to Hel, and the triangle—the mark of the triune Thor the Watchman and Ruler of Hel the Under-world.

On the first and smallest of the rings provided with picture-writing these marks surround the river Gjöll, which indicates by its course on the six smaller rings

[24] Corp. Poet. Bor., vol. i. p. 303. "Then" (says Brunhild) "the ring-locked door of Hell shall not fall on his heels; if my company follows him hence our convoy shall be no poor one, when five bond-maids follow him, eight men-servants of noble blood, my nurse, and my fosterer."

preceding, that it divides the Upper- from the Under-

Fig. 19.

world. Surrounded by mice otters or other animals,

betokening the Under-world, with their tails intertwined, is seen the hedge or fence of Hel's realms of the Dead composed of a series of nine triangles. Over this Hermod had to leap Sleipner when he was sent by the gods to seek the release of Balder. The sacred number nine doubtless refers to the ancient belief in nine Worlds nine Heavens and nine divisions in the Under-world.[25] In general the number three plays the same prominent part on this horn as on the former. After this comes Helheim's open gate with pillars of human bones and the mark of the trinity (three pellets or dots in a triangle) on the door-leaves.

The second ring shows the ash Yggdrasil encircled by the marks of Odin Frey and the triune Thor in threes; also the wolves Sköll and Hati pursuing the moon and sun to swallow them.[26]

From this point, in visible contrast to the first-mentioned horn, all stars and sacred marks cease excepting the sign of Frey the earth-god. The background to the chief figures is covered only with intertwined serpents and human bodies with serpents' tails. All the human or semi-human forms except two are naked.

On the third ring Loke is seen, sometimes as a salmon surrounded by a brood of three serpents, and sometimes as a beast with human head. The same twofold manner of representing Loke by a beast with human head over a salmon is also used on the broadest and last ring. He is also represented concealed under Freya's stolen ornament Brisingamen, which is held out by two naked figures.

Next to this on the fourth ring Thor is keeping

[25] Volospá, i. 8. [26] Ibid., i. 410 ff.

watch with club and axe over Loke's three wolf-children—the Worm of Midgarth the Fenris-wolf and Hel. Behind the first is a coiled serpent with the tail of a fish and the mark of Frey the Earth-God, denoting that the Worm of Midgarth entwines the Earth.

On the fifth ring Hel appears in female form with a ring round her waist and a knife in her hand. She is receiving the dead Balder into her Hall. He is lying stretched out behind her and is clad in a kirtle, as on the other horn. Thus there is a complete uniformity of representation on the centre of both horns, which must without fail have reference to one and the same chief person. Next to Hel, who seems conceived of as "Mother of Monsters three," three monsters are standing, a mountain-giant and two ogres (Jætte) with wolves' heads, the one with a knife or sickle, the other with an axe.

The sixth ring shows the coming of the spear-armed Hermod on Sleipner to Hel. With a spear in each hand he enters the Hall. This and the preceding ring differ from all the other compartments of the horn in having a background of hovering forms half-human half-serpent. Next follows his brother Balder, indicated by an archer aiming at a hind, as on the other horn. In front of him again is the only clothed figure on the whole horn, with the exception of the dead Balder mentioned before, the ancient Odin himself in flowing robes with long hair and with his (Suttung's) mead-horn, just as he is portrayed upon many runestones. This refers to Odin "the ancient Lord's" unsuccessful ride to Helheim to avert Balder's death; and possibly it also signifies that his son should live bewailed and glorified in the songs of the Skalds.

The seventh and last ring has two rows of representations. The one nearest to the mouth of the horn refers to Loke's abduction of Idun and the apple; it depicts Thiasse as an eagle pecking at the salmon (Loke) to force Loke to the theft, Loke's terror, the excitement of the gods at the disappearance of Idun, the discovery made by the Anses of the apple in Loke's possession, and Loke when in Falkeham he was compelled to restore Idun with the apple to Valhalla. The second row shows Loke's punishment for Balder's death. It represents his flight and capture in a fisher's weel by one of the Anses, who wears a neck-ring. Thor with an oar is wading out into the river after Loke, who has transformed himself into a salmon. Lastly we see the capture of Loke; whereupon he is bound with his son's guts, and then set on his knees with outstretched arms under a venomous snake. Thus the representations on both horns of Loke's three misdeeds end naturally with his severe punishment.[27]

As to the main point, according to such an interpretation of the pictures there can scarcely be a doubt that these gold horns, unique both in size and embellishment, originally formed a pair; and that, like other heathen representations in metal stone bone or wood, they were a sort of sacred picture-book kept in a temple and intended to preserve the kernel of the old theology for the people. They yield contemporaneous evidence that the pagan worship was conducted with great and costly magnificence, and, what is far more important, that this theology in its most essential features lasted

[27] Volospa, i. 106–7. Cf. Loka Senna, 49, l. 200. (C. P. B., vol. i. p. 108.)

unchanged in the North during the whole time when heathenism flourished at its height, reckoning at least from the time of the national migrations. The addition of new peoples and the higher tendency of culture at this time are clearly shown by the numerous uniform bog-finds the introduction of rune-writing the fine picture-writing and symbolism and the development of the Romano-barbaric style of art. Out of these a fuller religious life grew up. It is not improbable that in the succeeding centuries also the blending of peoples old and new the rise of Northern independence and the growth of active communications with other lands favoured the gradual adoption of somewhat peculiar forms assumed by the figures of the gods and many of the ancient myths. These became confused with later myths, connected possibly with the gradual adoption of many gods and goddesses.

A highly remarkable hint of some such change is possibly given by the peculiar position of Thor in reference to Odin, subordinate and yet prominent, both on the Golden Horns and on the golden bracteates. Odin is, it is true, Father of All, supreme in Valhalla, where he receives jarls and other mighty men, who fall in battle. Notwithstanding, Thor is evidently the chief god in the trinity.[28] To him powerful families consecrate all the largest bracteates and other trinkets, most of the temples, in Norway at least and afterwards in Iceland, many rune-stones &c.; and to him as to the

[28] In the remarkable poem Harbards Liod there is a distinct antagonism between these two gods—Thor the old and Odin the new. Thor is there an outlaw, the god of thralls (the conquered natives ?); Odin owns all the gentle-folk (jarls—the aristocracy by right of conquest ?). Harb. 76–7.

Lord of the Under-world come all the thralls. This class, which existed in the North in unusually large numbers at the introduction of Christianity, was not merely composed of prisoners of war, but was in fact the remains of the older population, gradually forced by intestine feuds and the pressure of superior immigrants to sink from free men into serfs. Hence there is double reason for believing that Thor was from the first the chief god in the North, and that Odin, as the patron god of battle, did not really take his place by the side of Thor as his equal or superior till the time of the national migrations, though he was certainly worshipped in the North as early as the Bronze-Age. Only among a strong martial aristocratic race could the lore of Valhalla, in general so highly developed in its way, and the blissful life of battle there continued, to win full acceptance, and that too mostly among the chiefs who alone might look forward to being taken up among the Einherier who dwelt with Odin.

Much might be said about the ancient sagas of the wandering of Odin and the Anses male and female—and even of several Odins—into the North, and their probable connexion with the shiftings of population northwards during the time of the national migrations from southern regions, which were then undoubtedly overspread by the Anse-lore, especially on the Rhine and Baltic. If this be true, it is highly probable that the worship of Thor hitherto prevalent in the North may at that time have been added to, especially in certain districts, by powerful princely houses, who introduced a more extensive cult of Odin and also of many of the gods and goddesses (Aser and Asynier) who were his companions

or followers, according to the belief of heathenism in its last days. This also helps us to understand how Odin, as the god of battles, necessarily, though not apart from Thor and Frey, assumed supreme position and importance in the great temple which was doubtless then built or enlarged by the powerful and warlike Upsveas at Upsala. Possibly about the same time great sanctuaries were erected in Odin's honour or enlarged at other places, *e.g.* in Denmark at Odinse (Odin's Vé) in Fÿen, where magnificent bog-finds and unusually rich hoards of gold are memorials of the violent commotions during the Middle Iron-Age, which may have accompanied the invasion of warlike ruling races. Fairly trustworthy accounts of the temple at Leire and of the sacrifices there offered have come down to us. The remarkable traces of Christian influence, which we clearly see in the later Northern theology, and even in the architecture of some of the heathen temples described in the Sagas, should also possibly be referred to the Middle Age of Iron and to the half-heathen half-Christian current of culture then prevalent. Thus the new and more highly developed doctrine of Odin became the foundation to bridge the way, as it were, for Christianity into the heathen North.

The pre-historical conditions in the north and north-east of Europe were, as a whole, drawing to a close. While the Middle Iron-Age of the North was still entirely pre-historic, the northern and western lands of Europe were being gradually drawn within the pale of Christianity and history. With the end of the Middle Iron-Age (about 700 A.D.) in consequence of the Viking expeditions and Christianity the faint but

growing light of history began to pierce and at last lift the mist, through which as yet monuments and antiquities alone have been our fixed and guiding stars. With written history therefore the monumental records and ancient relics henceforth dwindle in importance till they become mere illustrations of the internal and external contemporary conditions of civilisation, the main features of which are already known in history.

CHAPTER X.

THE VIKING-TIMES IN THE NORTH.

[b. *Second Period of the Later Iron-Age*, 700–1000 A.D.]

NONE of the previous pre-historic periods in the North can vie in vast importance with the Middle Iron-Age. Colonisation, especially to the North, had advanced as though with one bound. The most fertile results almost everywhere succeeded the fusion of old and new elements of race. The stream of European culture was no longer, as of yore, checked on the northern frontiers of the old Danish lands, but spread with remarkable regularity and on the whole with more uniformity, than hitherto, from the extreme south of Denmark up to the far north of Sweden and Norway. The introduction of agriculture navigation trade and warfare became the sources of great wealth. A somewhat peculiar though barbarised style of art had begun to develop. In speech too the inhabitants of the North were more and more severed from their Germanic kinsmen, and for the first time had acquired a written language by the introduction of the early runes from abroad. But shortly after the close of the Middle Age of IRON (about 700 A.D.) these must have given place to a peculiarly Scandinavian rune-writing developed in

the North itself (about 800 A.D.)[1] A complete theology with a marvellously subtle and profound development of symbolistic speech had struck root firmly in the people, their whole existence being penetrated with reverence for the gods and assurance of a new life hereafter.

In many other points the Middle Age of Iron left behind it in the eighth century and subsequently the germs of an uninterrupted development of the life and culture peculiar to the people of the Northern countries. Ornaments weapons and ships gradually assumed specially Northern forms. It was as though an ancient Northern or north-European national spirit, after being long driven back and acted on by fresh elements of peoples and a new culture, had again broken out in stronger independence. The more the purely Christian culture aided by conquest gained a firm footing in the neighbouring countries, the more were the powerful freedom-loving heathens in the North compelled to arm and protect themselves and carry on their inner development by themselves, if they would hope to defend their religious and political independence, which was menaced from many sides. The Danes especially, for their protection against the power and greed of the German Emperors, had henceforth to bear the brunt of a hard struggle at the Kurgrav and Danevirk rampart, a line of fortifications constructed according to principles of military science on their southern frontier just north of the Eider.

Traces of fortified farmsteads or castles are also to

[1] *Vide* author's note on Slesvig's Oldtidsm., pp. 100, 101.

be found not merely in the North on suitable hill-tops but also in the southern lowlands; where however men confined themselves to the defensive behind moated entrenchments and stockades.

Throughout the North during the pre-historic Middle Age of Iron there must have been a large increase of population and a peculiar national development. This is proved incontestibly by the force in which scarcely a hundred years afterwards well armed Northern Vikings in great war-ships began to sally forth to the terror of their neighbours (770–880 A.D.).[2] They swarmed abroad on the North Sea, especially on the coasts of the western countries, and some appeared even as far down as the Mediterranean. At first these raids were commanded by single chieftains, as a private speculation, with the direct object of returning to their Northern homes laden with glory and plunder. But these were gradually thrown into the shade by larger Viking fleets under fixed martial laws. They were manned by numerous warlike emigrants and by high-born chiefs driven abroad by the pressure of over-population and the growing power of the kings, which threatened to curtail the power of the petty chiefs. Sword in hand, on foot and mounted, they sought to win new homes in the western lands, which were torn by intestine feuds. The success which attended these

[2] Of the author's Danske Erobring af England og Normandiet, Afdel.; Kap. iv. For the laws under which they sailed (ib. p. 278), and the causes which led to the emigration (ib. pp. 30–31), and generally, the author's Danes and Norwegians in England Scotland and Ireland (Lond. 1852). Munch, 1 Deel. 1 Bind., pp. 437–443.

Nearly 2000 Danish names exist in the Danelagh: Danske Erobring, p. 181, Danes and Norwegians, p. 65 ff., and ib. Table, p. 71.

national migrations by sea steadily increased their numbers, and encouraged the daring energy which it was their task to infuse into the enfeebled and degenerate populations of western Europe. The emigrants even settled in distant lands as yet uncolonised. But this does not seem to have drained the population of the North itself to any very perceptible extent. Wherever they settled, they brought with them their own native institutions, with which they well knew how to establish security and peace in the countries they ruled. The strength and importance of the new settlers in the West are still attested by many Norwegian and Danish names of places in Scotland Ireland the north of England and Normandy. In these lands, as well as in Russia, constantly increasing discoveries of graves and antiquities characteristic of the North and quite distinct from the native remains of olden times clearly prove that the Northmen in the midst of foreign surroundings for a long time clung with remarkable pertinacity to their language rune-writing style of art customs fashions and other national observances. Even to this day in spite of all later intermixtures the traces of these are not quite effaced among their descendants.

In these important but too long misunderstood movements of the people, which formed, as it were, the closing scene of the great national migrations in Europe, the Danes played a specially prominent part. They conquered and settled considerable tracts in the north of England, where they quickly mingled with the highest aristocracy. Their kings persevering alike in the pursuits of peace and war soon had a coinage

of their own—a thing as yet unknown in the North itself—struck in a peculiarly Northern style. They occupied many important points in Ireland, partly in union partly at war with the Norse settlers. They conquered Normandy, and finally subdued the whole of England, where again their Norman kinsmen in later times established the supremacy of the new Danish-Norman elements on the ruins of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish kingdom. So too they settled firmly in the important trading town of Dorestad on the Rhine, where it is certain that Northern heathens had coins struck, partly in imitation of foreign types but also marked with their ancient sacred signs and pictures, *e.g.* the marks of Odin Frey and Freya, Thor's head, Frey's stag, his ship Skithbladnir, &c. In the North itself the Danes extended their dominions over the districts next to Scania, especially over the south and sometimes even over the whole of Norway. Following the example of foreign countries their first large realms appear to have been formed in Denmark, which owing to its situation was always the first to feel the action of currents of culture setting in from the south and south-west, especially in the times of Charles the Great. With good reason therefore has this period of transition from the prehistoric to the historic ages in the North been called the time of "the Dane-Vaelde," just as the common Northern language was in olden times named "The Danish Tongue" both in the North and elsewhere.

The most important position next to Denmark was at that time evidently occupied by Norway or "the *Noregs*-Vaelde." The Northmen, who seem to have

made the most considerable progress in the building of large seaworthy ships, conquered and settled the Shetland Islands the Orkneys the most northern and western parts of Scotland a portion of north-western England and several points in Ireland. They also colonised the Faroes Iceland and the coasts of Greenland, from which they discovered America. These Norse colonies and conquests, which deeply affected the later development in the western lands, were not of such general historical importance as those of the contemporary Danish-Normans. But they exercised a vast influence in the Northern lands, and of course most directly on Norway, which was thus brought into active intercourse with the long Christianised West of Europe. Scotch and Irish antiquities, as well as traces of a growing influence from the West on the products of Norse and Northern industries in general, appear frequently in the latest Iron-Age, especially in the west of Norway.

Similarly Sweden with its colonies to the East became the medium of a new and important connexion between the North, Russia, the Byzantine Empire and the Arabian Khalifate. By the steadily increasing settlements and conquests of the Swedes on the coasts of Finland and the Baltic Provinces the road into the interior of Russia was opened for the first time. Northern merchants full of enterprise and eager for gain drove a trade with the Byzantines and Arabs. They were succeeded by conquering Swedish hosts, known as "Russi," who assumed dominion over the Slavs in many places, where ornaments and weapons in Northern style are still frequently brought to light.

By their superior ability and strength they helped to found the later Russian Empire. Swedish and other Northern warriors, who were named by the Russians and Greeks "Vaeringi" ("aliens with civic rights," as contrasted with the emigrant Russi), took service sometimes with the Russian princes in their campaigns against the Emperors in Byzantium, sometimes as "House-carls" or body-guards with the Byzantine Emperors themselves. Russian and Northern princely houses contracted marriages with one another. By long-continued communications of various kinds Arabian and Byzantine wares were imported into the North across Sweden and through the marts on the Baltic coasts. Great hoards of their coins and other silver goods have been preserved in the bosom of the earth, where according to hereditary fashion they were hidden away by the inhabitants of the North. For Russia the Swedish conquests, which also essentially though immediately contributed to the establishment of Christianity, were important in bringing the Slavs into contact with and under the influence of the new European civilisation. For Sweden the trade with the East and Byzantium became a source of increased prosperity; and the numerous foreign imports failed not to exercise a definite influence on the native culture and style prevalent during the Latest Iron-Age. Gotland, though situated far up the more land-locked part of the Baltic, had like Öeland and Bornholm, already become an important seat of commerce in earlier times. Its proximity to Russia now made it the centre of an extraordinarily brisk trade which bartered goods from the East and North with merchandise from Germany and England.

This is shown by many thousands of contemporary foreign coins discovered on the island. Hoards of oriental silver are also found in great quantities in the islands of Öeland and Bornholm. From here they are met with in decreasing numbers along the south coasts of the Baltic, in Denmark, and in the Danish or Norse colonies in the north of England and in Ireland. In Norway traces of these are far rarer.[3]

Under conditions and connexions so various the now no longer purely prehistoric monuments and antiquities of the Latest Iron-Age must in their turn also have been stamped with very various characteristics in the Northern lands. In Denmark even in the Middle Age of Iron the burial customs and antiquities, in contrast with those of the more heathen Sweden and Norway, indicated the commencement of a strong Christian influence and southern Christian culture. This influence must have rapidly increased after the year 700 both on the peninsula of Jutland, which was most exposed to the effects of contact with Germany and France, and in the rest of Denmark. Christianity had, it is true, already shown itself in some places in Sweden and Norway, which had a growing trade with Christians abroad. But it lay in the nature of things that Denmark should be the first land of the North from which heathenism was expelled. Long in fact before the final and complete victory of Christianity heathenism had been tottering on a somewhat insecure footing. As

[3] It is highly significant that the finest collection of Anglo-Saxon coins is to be found in Stockholm. At least 25,000 of the tenth and eleventh centuries are known in Sweden, not counting those which are known to have disappeared. O. Montelius, Kult. Schwed., p. 175.

early as 696 to 717 the holy Villibrod had preached to Frisians and Danes. By the year 800 many Danes, especially in the trade marts, were converted. Shortly afterwards the first church was built at Hedeby (the modern Slesvig); and though this was again destroyed, the new religion would not long be denied admittance. The history of the ninth and tenth centuries clearly reflects the violent internal and external struggles which accompanied the gradual fall of heathenism in Denmark. The old high-places of sacrifice at Vébjörg (Viborg) in Jutland, Odinsvë (Odense) in Fÿen, Leire in Seeland, and Lund in Scania were obliged to make way for Christian churches. Slowly the current of culture from the South and West reached the peninsula of Jutland and the islands and Scania beyond. The first real bishoprics were founded in the towns of Slesvig Ribe and Aarhus about 948, in Odense 988, in Roskilde 1022, and in Lund 1048. Thus between the institution of the first permanent bishops in Jutland and in Scania a whole century intervened.

Such a protracted period of fermentation could not, in spite of the evident progress of an inner national movement, be favourable to a general revival or development of older purely heathen fashions in the extreme south of the North. In comparison with the other Northern lands Denmark (including Scania) presents an extraordinary lack of characteristic heathen graves monuments and even antiquities of the Latest Iron-Age or transition from heathenism to Christianity. In the Ages of Stone and Bronze and the Earlier Iron-Age the old Danish lands had far surpassed the rest of the North in monuments and antiquities. In the Middle

Age of Iron they were at least fully equal to them, but just when Denmark's supremacy in the North and beyond was developing with surprising power, the number of its monuments and antiquities decreases in a remarkable degree. So great indeed is the contrast with the rest of the North, that it cannot be explained merely by the fact that heathenism and consequently the Latest Iron-Age at the final close of the prehistoric period fell much earlier in Denmark than in Norway and Sweden, more particularly, where heathen forms of graves and heathen style were maintained singularly late into Christian times. Had heathenism in Denmark until the introduction of Christianity continued to flourish peacefully with anything like the vigour it displayed in Norway and Sweden, there would certainly have been more purely heathen memorials of the period than the Danish lands are now able to show. The chief reason must evidently lie deeper—in the early and steadily growing Christian influences on the more lively and pliant Danes. But the numerical difference in antiquities and monuments may possibly be due to the fact that the graves in Denmark are often, as in the Middle Age of Iron, laid under the surface, even in natural elevations, and can be discovered only by purely chance operations. Now and then they are indicated by low barrows or horizontal stone-settings in circles squares and triangles, and sometimes—as in Jutland and especially in Bornholm—in the form of ships. Bauta-stones are also sometimes erected near them. But though these graves both of burnt and unburnt bodies are found in numbers together at some few places in Denmark, and form regular cemeteries,

they cannot compare either in number or extent with the corresponding cemeteries, mostly of burnt bodies, in Blekinge Smaaland and the rest of Sweden and in Norway. Everywhere in these regions we see far more numerous and larger bauta-stones low barrows and stone-settings, also in the form of ships circles squares and, particularly in certain districts, triangles, these last not unfrequently with the sides or arms so distinctly curved inwards, that they involuntarily suggest Odin's mark, the triskele, as their origin. The low barrows on the whole were most probably intended for poor people—perhaps also for women; whereas the larger "warrior-howes," which often contain unburnt bodies, and are found throughout the North, and specially in Denmark, seem to have been reserved solely for powerful chieftain families. A few such large howes, some of them adorned with erect rune-stones and strangely enough derived from the very last times of heathenism, are to be met with in Fÿen and Jutland. In some the unburnt bodies have been deposited with numbers of horses gold-mounted horse-trappings and carriages weapons ornaments boxes wooden buckets and vessels of metal &c. In others the corpses have been buried in embroidered clothes inwoven with gold, and rest on down-stuffed cushions in a wooden grave-chamber fairly deep under the surface. Several of these warrior-howes in Jutland and Fÿen (at Föhr for instance with unusual contents consisting of burnt bones weapons, violently bent, fire-steels and other objects) in their form contents and to some extent in the rune-stones erected on or near the mounds, point, as we should expect, to active

communications with the strongly marked heathen Norway, and perhaps even to direct influences therefrom. For in Norway and Sweden the fashion of setting up rune-stones seems to have been older than in Denmark. Similarly the large wax-tapers at times deposited in the graves, viewed in connexion with various Christian ornaments or imitations of them, indicate that the heathen current setting from the North was met by a corresponding and just as strong a current from the Christian south.

But besides the foreign influences in Denmark there was evidently a considerable development of native dexterity in art. It appears in very large finds of smith-work containing among other things magnificent gilt saddles casket-mountings &c. Moreover the inscriptions on the Danish rune-stones are all written in the later runes; and further the oldest rune-inscriptions that are marked with the distinct characteristics of the later runes—in which the protection of the god Thor is still often invoked either expressly in words or figuratively by his hammer-sign—have so far been found in Denmark and Scania, which were then united. It is therefore a question whether the development of the later rune-writing, though it may well have found its way into the various lands of the North at much the same time, did not most probably commence in Denmark. Here the first advance was made in material and spiritual progress. Here too the more extensive remains of an older culture and population must have favoured such a burst of national energy. Many rune-stones in Denmark and throughout the North contain epitaphs and memorial writings in verse, and have thus

preserved contemporary evidence of the rise of Skaldic poetry and the high value which even the mightiest set on having their exploits sung in the lays of the Skalds.

Only very feeble traces have as yet been found in Denmark of the ancient custom practised by the Northmen of burying Vikings and distinguished chieftains in their ships.[4] The private Viking raids, which sallied forth chiefly to pillage and harry the coasts, owing to the growth of population and scarcity of support proceeded rather from the naturally poor highlands of Norway and Sweden than the more fertile Danish lowlands. The nails and considerable remains of ships, in which Vikings have been burnt or buried in heights with horses hounds weapons and ornaments, appear very frequently in the warrior-howes on the coasts of Sweden, but still more so in Norway, where two ships have recently been exhumed from warrior-howes in tolerably good preservation.

The Viking ship recently discovered at Sande-fjord was ornamented along the gunwale with large painted shields of wood and seems to have been fully equipped. Amidships a grave chamber was built for the dead and his favourite animals. On the outside of the vessel lay the bones of the horses and hounds offered at the funeral, about eight of each kind.

The thousands upon thousands of barrows in which it was still the custom in the North down to the very last days of heathenism to bury the dead were no longer confined to the coasts, as in the Middle Age

[4] According to "Arts," p. 190, burial in ships is not yet proved to *have* occurred in Denmark.

of Iron but scattered throughout the interior and even high up to the extreme North. They are found in Sweden as far as lat. 64° and in Norway to lat. 69° N. Colonisation therefore, as in the preceding period, spread far further north in Norway than in Sweden.

From the latter country the settlements extended eastwards across Finland, covering a wider area than before. Many islands also and the coast-lands in the modern Baltic provinces were colonised from Sweden.

As heathenism drew near its end, cremation owing partly to Christian influence seems to have fallen more and more into disuse, especially among the more powerful families. Graves under the earth, sometimes without barrows, came into fashion. In Norway numerous discoveries in graves and elsewhere of characteristic shell-formed brooches and other ornaments weapons—often still deliberately bent or broken according to ancient fashion — implements harness smithy tools foreign coins jewellery &c. prove the strength of the attachment to what was old. But at the same time they bear witness to extraordinary life and stir in the land and a great industrial activity, the products of which varied in different districts.

A corresponding though not nearly so great a richness in antiquities from the last period of heathenism, appears during the growth and establishment of the "Svea-vaelde" (Supremacy of the Sveas) in Sweden. Here also special peculiarities begin to show themselves in Svealand Götaland and even smaller districts.

Gotland, in so many respects a remarkable island, developed a very singular style, which retained many

of the older types of the Middle Iron-Age by the side of new and special forms. In this fairly isolated island unlike the style of the Latest Iron-Age it long continued to flourish and extend its influence in various directions, even to the Baltic Provinces, as it seems, and possibly also to Bornholm.

But amidst all revolutions and developments in the North during the last days of heathenism, and even in spite of the commencement of Christianity, the Northmen clung with old tenacity to their ancestral reverence for the images and sacred marks of the gods. As in the previous Middle Age of Iron, they continued throughout the North, and now even in their colonies abroad to put these marks of consecration on their weapons trinkets household furniture grave-goods and monumental stones. The ornaments, it is true, became more and more complex in their form and decorations, which were composed of interlacing figures of animals and barbarised in style, partly in consequence of the new and strong influences of the Irish and Carlovingian styles of art encouraged by Viking and trade. But through these or by the side of them, especially on Swedish rune-stones, the older Romano-Germanic snake-ornaments[5] closely connected with the marks of the gods are conspicuously prominent.

Upon many objects, particularly in the large silver finds, frequently hidden with a religious object, we still see both here and in other lands the same hammered

[5] Snakes were supposed to watch over treasure. Cf. Fafnismal, and the later legends of dragons: in this case Thor the slayer of snakes seems to have been converted into a Christian saint, St. George. Elsewhere he appears to have degenerated into the medieval horned *Devil.*

triangular ornaments, most of them enclosing three dots, which, as the marks of the trinity or the triune Thor, so generally adorned bracteates mountings and other articles of ornament in the Middle Age of Iron. The head and hammer of Thor and the swastika are regularly met with on the rune-stones and trinkets. Especially was it the custom in the Viking times to carry small Thor's hammers of silver,[6] very often attached to silver-chains round the neck. Such a hammer from Scania is adorned on the top with the head of Thor's bird the eagle.

The peculiarly Northern trifid or trefoil brooches must have originated in Odin's mark, the triskele, which is also frequently used in the middle of them. This sign appears also on many ornaments weapons and occasionally rune-stones. Odin himself, either alone or with other gods, is represented on not a few rune-stones, but mostly in Sweden.[7] A large bauta-stone standing on a barrow at Ramsjö in Upland represents Odin on Sleipner fighting with his spear against the Worm of Midgarth and the Fenris-wolf. Their gaping maws signify that Odin will be swallowed by them. On a rune-stone at Leberge in Östergötland we see Vidar raising the dead Odin from the ground, and planting his iron-shod foot in the maw of the Fenris-wolf, after which, according to the Edda, he slew it.[8] Besides the remarkable rune-stones at Sanda in Gotland, previously alluded to, on which the trinity Thor Odin

[6] "Arts," fig. 240.

[7] Odin was reputed the inventor of runes, as well as god of battles. Hence the frequency of runes on swords.

[8] Cf. Vafthruthnis-mal, v. 210 (C. P. B. i. p. 208): also Volospá 161–5 (ib. p. 200).

and Frey is carved,—the last with a large goose bending over him,—a rune-stone at Habblingbo, also in Gotland, represents Odin on Sleipner, with two Valkyries hovering above him, while a third is handing him his mead-horn. A similar rune-stone at Laivide, in Gotland, shows the Ancient Odin holding his mead-horn and driving Sleipner in his battle-chariot. On his shoulder and over the horse is his raven; at the top hovers a Valkyrie with a shield, and by the foreleg of the horse stands one of Odin's wolves. On the stone at Tjängvide,[9] also in Gotland, under a representation of Odin similar to that on the Habblingbo stone, we also see Frey's Ship of the Air Skithbladnir with the gods on board, which is repeated on the Habblingbo stone just mentioned, where the hull of the ship is adorned with ornaments of the trinity.

The death of Odin's son Balder is commemorated on a large stone preserved by the side of two rune-stones at Hunestad in Scania. The carving on this has been shown to represent the giantess Hyrroken, who launched Balder's ship from the land at his burial—a feat which no one else could perform. She is pictured, just as the Edda describes her, on a wolf with vipers for reins. On one of the rune-stones standing near we see a helmed man in a short cloak with a huge axe, undoubtedly Thor, who is said to have slain Hyrroken with his hammer or axe, because the gods feared her strength, after her exploit at Balder's burial. Two stones set up immediately in front and originally belonging to the same magnificent monument may also with reason be looked upon as having represented some of the other

[9] O. Montelius, Kult. Schwed., fig. 115.

dangerous monsters, partly in the shape of wolves, which it was Thor's special duty to watch, particularly the Fenris-wolf the Worm of Midgarth and Hel. Here again we clearly recognise in the stone-pictures, easily understood by all at that time, the antiquity of the Balder-myth and its deep significance to the people of the North.

Frey's marks are commoner now than Odin's, especially the cross, which is inscribed on numerous objects and trinkets in particular. The horses and birds often carved with them on Swedish rune-stones must certainly have reference, sometimes at least, to Freya's sacred animals the horse and goose. On each of the gilded saddles found at Möllemosegaard in Fÿen and elsewhere in Denmark, as well as on stirrups [10] overlaid with gilded metal from Velds in north Jutland, we also see long-necked birds undoubtedly intended for geese. The horses' heads and figures of horses on many saddles seem to point also to Frey. Similarly Freya's marks appear regularly along with Frey's, and—as was customary in earlier times—mostly on ornaments, occasionally in connexion with phallic emblems.

On some tolerably late bracteates in Sweden, which have been copied from Cufic coins, the tree Yggdrasil is distinctly stamped between sacred signs on the rim. On a larger scale Yggdrasil is repeated several times with Frey's marks on a silver beaker found at Fejö in Laaland, which dates from the eighth or ninth century, and is decorated with many interlaced ornaments. In the top of the tree two birds—a hawk and an eagle—are perched on a single spot, while at

[10] "Arts," fig. 230.

the side Thor's eagle Odin's raven and Freya's cat are depicted. Some smaller silver beakers found in the same spot are engraved with ornaments of the trinity.

Such pictures of the gods and sacred marks had evidently sunk deep into the minds of the old Northmen. The first Christian teachers very adroitly sought to engraft Christian ideas as far as possible on the heathen, to smooth the way for the transition. No wonder then that mixtures of heathen and Christian motives appear, and that the heathen marks and even the pictorial representations of heathen legends continued into the Christian period. But it is stranger to find them so often and so late used in the very churches and on purely ecclesiastical objects. The triskele or Odin's mark and the marks of Thor—the swastika and hammer—as well as the ancient wheel-figures enclosing Frey's and Freya's signs are met with here and there on baptismal fonts sepulchral monuments and churches right into the twelfth century in Denmark. Here too, as elsewhere, they have been, to some extent at least, transferred to Christ or the Christian Trinity. Nor are there wanting in Denmark obvious representations of heathen legends, though mostly secular. An evident confusion or similarity between heathen and Christian ideas is shown in Denmark by the large rune-stone set up in honour of Gorm and Thyra at Jellinge with its image of Christ surrounded by ornaments formed of the triskele and interlaced work. So too in Sweden on a much later baptismal font in the church of Östra Eneby *the* Christian Trinity is depicted as Three Persons

adorned with haloes—each halo containing a cross. They are seated side by side in a frame, just as the heathen Trinity is represented with Odin Thor and Frey in one frame on the rune-stone at Sanda in Gotland.

But the church buildings fonts seats &c. in Sweden and Norway were beyond comparison more frequently and recently than in Denmark decorated with the old marks and with larger wood carvings and corresponding sculptures of the heathen legends of gods and heroes. They recall the Völsungs and Gjukungs, and how King Gunnar with his harp lulled the snakes in the snake-pit to sleep. A favourite subject is the famous hero Sigurd Fafnesbane, who slew the dragon which brooded over a vast hoard of gold—a deed which is also glorified on several ancient rock-engravings and rune-stones in Sweden.

Thus in the transition from the prehistoric to the purely historic times in the North the contemporary memorials shed additional light on the way in which heathenism, after being undermined and finally overthrown in Denmark, must have rallied and long maintained its last forces in the higher North, in Sweden and Norway, until at last compelled, but not before the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to retreat entirely before the steady irresistible advance of Christianity throughout the whole domain of the Scandinavian people. Finmark and Lapland on the contrary long continued in barbarous heathenism. Like the temples of Denmark previously, the large pagan temples and houses of sacrifice in Sweden (at Upsala and many other

places) and in Norway (at Mören, on Lade &c.) inevitably fall into decay, and are succeeded by churches in honour of the White Christ.

Even at that time the gap between the development of culture in Denmark and in the rest of the North, which from the Age of Stone was steadily decreasing, had been considerably lessened. Thenceforth it was destined to become gradually more and more filled up by the essential uniformity of Christian culture. A full historic age had at last with the introduction of Christendom arisen throughout the North. Far down however into the Middle Ages the remains of the original heathenism, and of the prehistoric conditions of settlements and culture generally, continue to glimmer through the new social organisation and general internal development of culture in the various regions of the North. But in every way the traces of the ancient heathenism grew fainter in Denmark than in the neighbouring kingdoms of Norway and Sweden to the north, which were Christianised at a later time, and still more than in the distant republic of Iceland, which Norway when still purely heathen had founded. Thus it was that Iceland in its institutions its national life and its remarkable saga literature has been the means of throwing a flood of light and splendour over the Viking-life and decline of heathenism in Norway, its motherland, and in the North generally. Nor is this all. As the light steadily grows and penetrates the darkness of heathenism in its last stronghold among the Germanic peoples in the far North, it begins to reflect a remarkably clear light back across the previous

ages of almost vanished heathen conditions in other lands to the west and especially to the south, where Gotho-Germanic races had once parted from their near kindred, to find after many changes and chances a new and abiding home in the Scandinavian North.

APPROXIMATE CONSPECTUS

OF THE

PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE IN THE SCANDINAVIAN NORTH.

I. *At least* 3000 *years before Christ: Early Stone-Age,* come from the south-west, reaching only as far as Jutland and the Danish Islands, on the coasts creeks rivers and lakes, vanishing on the extreme coasts of Scania and the Cattegat at the most southerly point of Norway. The rest of the North uninhabited. Contemporaneous Late Stone-Age in the South and West of Europe.

II. *About* 2000–1000 B.C.: *Later Stone-Age,* also from the south-west; in the Danish lowlands and interior; spreading gradually to the southernmost portion of the great Scandinavian peninsula, to about 59°. North of this no settlement, or only very faint. Full Bronze-Age at this time in the lands on the Mediterranean.

III. *About* 1000–500 B.C.: *Early Bronze Age,* from the south, little by little to about the same extent northwards, perhaps further to the extreme west coast of Norway; elsewhere in Norway and the north of Sweden general Stone-Age for the first time. Among the Lapps and Finns in the high North an "Arctic" Stone-Age comes in from the north-east. Iron-Age and classic culture then advancing in southern Europe.

IV. *About* 500 B.C. *to the time of Christ's Birth*: *Later Bronze Age,* spread thickly to lat. 59°; further northwards,—in north Sweden to lat. 62°, and in Norway to lat. 66°, slowly driving the Stone-Age back. A considerably developed pre-Roman Age of Iron reached the centre and West of Europe.

V. *About the time of Christ's Birth till* 450 A.D. : *Early Iron Age*, at first pre-Roman, but mostly Roman, and as yet prevailing only in the old Danish lands, in any case very faint in central Sweden and the south of Norway ; Bronze-Age, for the most part higher northwards as far as the domains of the "Arctic" Age of Stone, which continued still in full force.

VI. *About* 450–700 A.D. : *Middle Age of Iron* (or first period of the Later Iron Age), at last virtually over the whole North, even remarkably high to the north, especially on the coasts rivers and lakes in Sweden to 63° N., in Norway to 69°. The real Early Iron-Age for north Sweden and the north of Norway. Foreign Romano-Germanic influence preponderates.

VII. *About* 700–1000 A.D. : *Viking-Times* (or second period of the Later Iron-Age). Iron-culture common and peculiar to nearly the whole of the North both on the coasts and interior, as well as in some degree among the Northern colonists abroad, but least distinctly heathen in Denmark. The Stone-Age meantime scarcely yet completely driven out of the extreme north of Finmark and Lapland.

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